

# THE THOUSAND ARMED VALOKIESVARA



LOKESH CHANDRA

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## FOREWORD

THE concept and image of the Avalokiteśvara has been an enigma to historians and scholars of Indian and Asian art. Like his Thousand Arms, the interpretation has been as multi-dimensional. Critical writing on Avalokiteśvara ranges from its being identified as a purely Buddhist image to its being interpreted as a syncretical image of Buddha and Śiva. The debate has not been restricted to Buddhist and Śaivite iconography, or the relationship of Lokeśvara and Avalokiteśvara, but has understandably expanded to include the many manifestations of Avalokiteśvara in South East Asia and East Asia. In China, Avalokiteśvara is familiar as Kuan-yin, in Nepal as Sahasrabhuja Lokanāthaḥ, in Korea he is worshipped as Kwan-um, and in Japan as Senjō-kannon. Despite the pervasiveness, the origins are as mysterious. Where did the concept originate? Can it be traced back to the Rgvedic description of the primordial Man in the Puruṣa Sūkta thousand-armed and thousand-eyed? Does it appear in Hindu mythology? Is it a post-Buddhist development, especially in its later Mahayāna phase? Does the concept appear in the Purāṇas? Does it appear only in the Tibetan, Chinese, Korean, Japanese texts? These and many more intricate and complex problems confront one at the very moment of the supplication before the icon known as the embodiment of Karuna.

As in other spheres, here too it would appear that the original Sanskrit text is lost in oblivion. Nevertheless, it is equally clear that the concept and the text travelled to Tibet, China, Korea, Japan. The image is known by several names and the text has several versions. Underlying this multiplicity are two distinct levels, of formal elements of iconography and hymnology. Iconographical structure constitutes the basis of the concrete image, hymnology gives life to the image through invocation. It is significant that Suzuki in his manual of Zen Buddhism repeatedly speaks of the repetition of the *Dhāraṇīs* (hymns) of the Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara as an essential part of the Zen monk's daily routine.

Dr. Lokesh Chandra has spent many decades of his life trying to unravel these deep layers of meaning and principles of form. He has reconstructed piece by piece, fragment by fragment the several manuscripts relating to the Avalokiteśvara and the *Dhāraṇīs* available in different versions. With meticulous care, he reassembles the text, lays bare iconography, describes attributes, analyses mudras, compares each version. The articulation of the *Dhāraṇī*, the accompanying hymn which evokes the image, is equally important. Contemporary recitations of the *Dhāraṇī* of the Avalokiteśvara are difficult to obtain but with the help of the Chinese colleagues, it has been possible to include a tape of the *Dhāraṇī*. The text, the versions and the illustrations, along with the vocal enunciation will give the experience of the cosmic grandeur of the image, and the *Dhāraṇīs*. The relationship of text and image, image and sound is a valuable unique contribution.

In the programme of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, it was important to include a work which exemplifies the intrinsic multi-disciplinary nature of the Indian and Asian traditions. Also the Avalokiteśvara as a theme was ideally suited to demonstrate the complexity of the interplay of the Buddhist, Hindu and many popular traditions. The interaction amongst diverse regions—India, Tibet, China, Korea and Japan—is convincingly demonstrated. It is hoped that with the publication of this very important and seminal work, many more scholars will be inspired to undertake comparative work of this kind.

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New Delhi  
13.9.88

KAPILA VATSYAYAN



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ousand-armed Avalokitesvara, Bujo-ji monastery, Kyoto (Japan). Wood decorated with cut gold-leaf designs. 31.5 cm high. Heian period (12th century). (to face p. 8)



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

AVALOKITA is the hidden beyond wherein creatures of dust and of spirit become the vision of light. In Him the entire oeuvre of devotion becomes a journey of beauty and purity, of truth and discernment, of smile and harmony, in a world of passing dreams, passing time, underlying the eternal dynamics of creativity and beauty, of self-development and transcendence. These infinite possibilities of creativity flow into hymns and miniatures, sculptures and paintings, ever evolving into the multiplicity of forms of Avalokita. In the process Avalokita assimilates the multiple manifestations of Lokeśvatas, an integration of many levels of ideas and depths of thoughts. The new seeks stability in the experience of lived memories. Popular iconic vocabulary becomes the essence of ever-renewing theogony. From an attendant acolyte of Amitābha in the Sukhāvatī-vyūha, Avalokita gained independence as a separate deity in his own right, while the worship of his prototype Brahmā ceased, until the great Ādi-Śaṅkaracārya resurrected Brahmā (masc.) as the abstract Brahman (neut). The Potala Lokeśvara holds the mysteries of Harihara, the devarāja cult and a key to the enigmatic faces at Angkor. Entire systems of thought lie embedded in the silent enigmas of Avalokita-svara/ Avalokiteśvara/ Lokeśvara or Lokanātha.

The renowned Macchandar Vahal sculptures of 108 Lokeśvaras endow the orb of words of the text with the life of form. The whole being of a hymn stringing 108 epithets is incarnated into statues to become things of this earth, to celebrate the cosmos in the surety of living, to carry the eternal depth to the eyes of the faithful of the earth: beauté (fem.) or beauty sculpted in the round, to give birth to a state of open symbolism. These psychotropic images open meditative worlds of well-being, happiness and bliss so that the human possesses all becomings. Common men exalt their being in the vision of these images sublimed by words of transcendence. Folk literature and plastic arts draw their vitality in the imaginings and images, reveries and substances of the flowering of transcendent experience and creativity.

I have spent long years in trying to open up the palimpsest of Avalokita. It has revealed the several original layers which have been effaced or blurred to make room for a new one. The rubbings peep through the Chinese transliterations of hymns (*palimpsestos*: *palim* ‘again’ + *psaō* ‘rub smooth’). To this long journey have I been summoned by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki’s *Manual of Zen Buddhism* wherein he has tried to inform his readers of literary materials relating to monastery life of Zen. He (1950:22-23) includes the English rendering of the dhāraṇī to the Thousand-armed Avalokita as an essential part of the Zen

repertoire of sūtras, “what the Zen monk reads before the Buddha in his daily service, where his thoughts move in his leisure hours” (ibid. 11).

Suzuki adds (1950:21): “Dhāraṇī, the root of which is *dhr*, ‘to hold’ or ‘to convey’, is ordinarily translated by the Chinese *tsung-ch'ih*, ‘general holder’, or *neng-ch'ih*, ‘that which holds’. A dhāraṇī is considered as holding magical power in it or bearing deep meaning. When it is pronounced, whatever evil spirits there are ready to interfere with the spiritual effect of a ritual, are kept away from it. In the following pages the three most frequently read dhāraṇīs are given. When translated they convey no intelligent signification. They mostly consist of invocations and exclamations”. The question arises: is the dhāraṇī without a meaning? Is it an invocation of non-content, a supplication of no substance? Do the words lack coherence, or is it a summoning of a the trans-meaning? This has made me a pilgrim in quest of the semantics of the words of the dhāraṇī. I have gone back to the several transliterations of this hymn in Chinese to seek from their mute mutilations the silent deeps of substance. Step by step every word and sentence has gained a meaning. In the words of Charles Lamb: “contented with little, yet wishing for more”, I have persevered for years. The results of the enquiry have been enlightening. The constant process of searching, selection and analysis has revealed iconic categories, proximities, theogonic dynamics wherein Avalokita resonates in a continual stream of time, thought and life. The dhāraṇī, the words, the bearers of life eternal have passed into the hands of humanity in universal bounty. In this sharing they seem to have been shorn of self. This has misled scholars.

We shall take up some lines from Suzuki's translation of the dhāraṇī. “To the one who performs a leap beyond all fears”. Suzuki's translation is a bold attempt to render the Siddham text which is corrupted beyond recognition: *sarvarabhayeśudhana*. The correct text is: *serva-bhayeṣu trāṇa-karāya* “[salutation] to the One who protects from all fears”.

“May I enter into the heart of the blue-necked one known as the noble adorable Avalokiteśvara”. Siddham reads: *imo aryāvaruhitesivaram dhava namo narakidhi. Herima vadhasame*. Correct text: *imam āryĀvalokiteśvara-stavanam Nilakanṭha-nāma/ hrdayam vartayiṣyāmi* “This is the name[-recitation] of Nilakanṭha sung by Avalokiteśvara. I will recite the hymn . . .”

Suzuki's “All, all” follows the Siddham text *serva*2. Correct text: *sarpa-sarpa* “come, come”. Oh condescend, please deign to come into my heart, my being, oh Hari the great essence of enlightenment (bodhi), oh Transcendent One. It expresses the yearning of the invoking devotee to be graced by the invoked divine.

The whole dhāraṇī is an earnest invocation for ineffable sublimation. Every word is an effusion for spiritual fusion. Each expression has a syntactical coherence, every sentence is a meaning and a resonance of human yearning. Meaningless words would lead to perdi-

tion. The dhāraṇī ripples with words that are viaticum for the journey to palingenesis. The mind of man is in need of these words. These words are the flame that kindles the human soul. The comparison of several versions in Chinese, Sogdian and Tibetan reveals that the words are correct in grammar, meaningful in sentence syntax, and are deeply expressive in their linguistic dynamics. The dhāraṇī is a harmony of the humano-cosmic interflow, the divine and man as a symbol of an interacting cosmic order. While the Divine descends and pervades the human mind, the mind of man ascends to the divine in quest of His grace. While the Divine casts his benign eyes on this earth, consequently the human looks up to the Divine from which all things flow and to which all things return.

Lord Śākyamuni was flanked by Śakra/Indra and Brahmā. Brahmā represented the immensity (*bṛhma*) of space, the horizontal expanse. Śakra/Indra was stamina (*sthāman*), the will to power, the vertical ascent. Both natural concomitants to the dharma-cakravartin that Lord Śākyamuni was. With the transcendence of Śākyamuni to Amitābha, Indra and Brahmā were transformed into Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Avalokita-svara. The form अर्य-॒(ः)॑पा॒लोकिदास्वरा occurs in a *vidyā* (SHT 3.88 no.844) for the protection of a person Anantaghoṣa by name. The fragment written in early Turkistan Brahmi was found by the Third German Expedition to Turfan, from the Red Dome Room of the Ming-oi at Qizil. It is a valuable piece of evidence in that it preserves that ancient form ending with *svara*. Avalokita is invoked twice and both times as *sarva-karma-sādhakya abhayadātāya* which means that he gives success in all actions and dispells fears and apprehensions.

The original Avalokita-svara was an acolyte of Amitābha, and a metamorphosis of Brahmā Sahāmpatiḥ ‘Lord of the Earth’. As a transformation of Brahmā, he was also known as Lokeśvara or Lokanātha which are synonyms of Brahmā. Later on, he became an independent deity, widely worshipped in his own right. He brought along with him other Lokeśvaras or deities current in popular worship. He pronounced their hymns and thereby they were accepted in the Buddhist pantheon.

After convergence, other deities were rightly termed Lokanātha or Lokeśvara in Nepal and not Avalokitesvara as in China. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara of China is Sahasrabhuja Lokanātha in the Nepalese manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (Cambridge Add. 1643 no.40). In India, Avalokiteśvara was rarely applied to new Lokeśvaras. As Lokeśvara and Avalokiteśvara were interchanged, the entrant popular deities or Lokeśvaras came to be treated as forms of Avalokiteśvara, particularly in China where the worship of Kuan-yin was the most widespread. The lumping of deities, differing entirely in their origins as well as characteristics, like Hayagrīva or Harihara, under Avalokiteśvara confused the origin and function of the prime Avalokita himself. It has led to disconcerted evaluation of the development of Avalokita as well as other deities.

The various versions show real variants which definitely go back to India and were reflections of different Sanskrit manuscripts in circulation or were adopted from the recitations of Indian or Serindian (Central Asian) monks who came to China. We may take an instance of the opening words of the *hṛdaya* where *avaloka*, its Central Asian form *apaloka* (compare Iranian *asp* for Sanskrit *aśva* where *p* stands for *v*), is replaced by *āloka*. The Central Asian form *apaloka* is found only in the text of Amoghavajra. Was *avaloka* 'seeing' understood as *aloaka* 'light'? From which version does Ji-un Sonja derive *ālokapati*?

In the anonymous Tibetan version the folk aspect is emphasised by the words *loka-mati* *lokagati*, for the Thousand-armed was first and foremost a Lok-eśvara, a popular (*loka*) deity (*śvara*) interiorised.

*Vulgate version*

Bh	avaloka e	--	lokātikrānta
Am	apaloka e	--	lokātikrānta
Ji	avaloka e	ālokapati	atikrānta
Ko	āloka e	ālokamati	lokātikrānta

*Longer version*

Vb	Ji	āloka e	ālokamati	lokātikrānta
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*Tibetan version*

Ch	--	ālokādhipati	lokātikrānta
An	avaloka	lokamati	lokagati

At times, the variants can be quite bewildering. The Longer Version has such a perplexing variant: *priya/vīrya*. This word is not found in the Vulgate Version. In the Longer Version, Ji-un Sonja (p. 224 ) has *he priya-bodhisattva*. The Siddham text of Vajrabodhi is *he vīrya-bodhisattva* (p. 211 ) and in accordance therewith we have reconstructed the Chinese transliteration of Vajrabodhi as *he vīrya-bodhisattva* (p. 189 ), though its reconstruction *he priya-bodhisattva* cannot be ruled out. The Tibetan version (p. 235 ) has *he priya-bodhisattva*. The Later Version of Amoghavajra (p. 265 ), though quite a different text, has the epithet *mahavīrya*.

The titles of the Chinese, Sogdian and Tibetan texts explicitly state that the hymn pertains to the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara.

The Chinese texts preserve the development of Avalokiteśvara, wherein He is invoked as one of the Amitābha triad, and subsequently in an independent status where He grants the State to His devotee. The next step in evolution is that the Nīlakantha hymn with the

attributes of Hari and Hara is tagged on to Him. Hari contributes the attributes of His hands and the faces of His Varāha and Narasimha incarnations. The multiple epithets of Hara and His belts of deer and tiger and *yajñopavita* of the black serpent are attached. The Tibetan Version, which was translated from Chinese into Tibetan twice, does not correspond to the existing texts in Chinese though it is close to Vajrabodhi. Its Chinese original seems to have been lost. It has the longest and fullest version. It was fairly shortened in the Longer Version of Vajrabodhi. The text of the hymn was further reduced in the Vulgate Version of Bhagavaddharma (commented upon by Amoghavajra). Conscious effort seems to have been at work to reduce the Hari-hara attributes in every ensuing version.

In the Early Version of Chih-t'ung (T 1057B) Avalokiteśvara is one of the Amitabha triad.

In the Later Version of Amoghavajra (T 1056) Avalokiteśvara becomes thousand-armed and thousand-eyed. It is unique in invoking Avalokiteśvara with a thousand eyes, heads, feet, tongues, arms and having the strength of a thousand heroes (*sahasta-vira*). His ferocious might and intense fury are invoked to grant imprium with all its kings (*rāṣṭram sa-rājakaṁ*) to the devotee. In this version Avalokiteśvara has unambiguously become the divine grantor of the State. According to the title, it details the ritual (*carya-kalpa*) according to the yoga-tantras of Vajrasatkara.

The Tibetan Version is the longest and it is represented by two texts: one is a translation by Chos-grub, while the second text is anonymous. The Longer Version of Vajrabodhi (T1061) says that it is the hymn to Nilakantha spoken (*bhāṣita*) by Avalokiteśvara. Vajrabodhi follows Bhagavaddharma in stating that it is a "fully complete and unabridged" version of the Mahākārttikeya-dhāraṇī. This is stated in the very title of the work, to enhance its popularity as being the more efficacious as compared to the shorter versions. Allied to the text of Vajrabodhi is an end-fragment of the Nilakantha-dhāraṇī discovered from Tun-huang which has the Sanskrit text and its Sogdian transliteration, and associates itself with the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.

In the Vulgate Version the word for 'chanted by' becomes a nebulous expression and the attributes of Harihara are drastically reduced to efface the assimilation of Nilakantha (Bhagavaddharma T 1060, Amoghavajra T 1113B). This version is in current use in all the East Asian countries of China, Korea and Japan. Though short, it is "concise and earnest, and adapted for chanting" (Prof. C. N. Tay).

Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, the fundamental tantra of the yoga division, has a hṛdaya of Avalokiteśvara which is similar to the aforesaid hymn.

Avalokita has four phases of development:

- (i) Commences as Avalokiteśvara, an acolyte of Amitābha
- (ii) Avalokita worshipped in his own right as equivalent to a Buddha.
- (iii) The assimilation of Avalokita with īśvara/Śiva and the emergence of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.
- (iv) Extension of the process of assimilation by the fusion of Avalokiteśvara with various Lokeśvara/Lokanātha, e.g. Hayagrīva.

Avalokita-svara	a bodhisattva
Avalokita + zero grade	a Buddha
Avalokit-eśvara	Buddhised īśvara/Śiva
Avalokit-eśvara	= Lokeśvara.

(i) Amitābha is also known as Lokeśvara-rāja 'king of Lokeśvaras' in the *Śukhāvatī-vyūha* 6.18, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (ed. Dutt p.296 ch. 24 st. 28), and in the *Vajradhātu mandala*. His name is transliterated into Chinese characters 鐘計攝伐闍利羅闍 (Tajima 1959:159) or translated into Chinese as 世自在王 *ibid*:167): where *se* 世 'world', *jizai* 自在 īśvara, 勘 王 rāja). In the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the compound *Lokeśvara rāja nāyako* was broken up into three words, as its meaning was not clear. It is an epithet of Avalokiteśvara, namely, one whose lord (*nāyaka*) is Amitābha (Lokeśvara-rāja). This occurrence of the word Lokeśvara-rāja is not recorded in Edgerton. Thus Avalokiteśvara is a Lokeśvara.

(ii) Avalokita was prayed to as a Buddha. Bodhisattvas of the tenth bhūmi were so worshipped. In his commentary entitled *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti-lakṣa-bhāṣya* (Tib. ལྷام དཔལ ། ཡତ୍ତଶନ୍ ବ୍ରଜ୍ଦ କ୍ୟି ବ୍ୟାଦ ହ୍ବୁମ୍, Cordier 2.266 no. 59.4) Smṛtijñanakīrti "mentions that in the śāvaka theory systems Mañjuśrī is a youth, usually aged sixteen; in Mahāyāna, he is a Bodhisattva of the Tenth Stage; and in the special theory common to the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti he has represented Buddhahood for uncountable ages" (Wayman 1985:3).

(iii) The Buddhisation of Śiva as Avalokiteśvara is evident in the hymns addressed to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. The attributes given in the hymns, though to be seen fully in the statues of Harihara, do not characterise the iconography of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. The suffix -īśvara in Avalokit-eśvara is the only conspicuous Śaiva element. Sometimes the yajñopavīta and antelope-skin can be seen in the images of Avalokiteśvara, for instance in the sixth century Thai bronze of Avalokiteśvara who wears the yajñopavīta as a shawl, and his hair are arranged in jaṭamukuta like Śiva (now in the Somdat Phrai Narai National Museum, Lop Buri, Piriya 1979:78-79). The Avalokiteśvara from Wat Sala Tung (Chaiya), of the late sixth century, the earliest known Thai stone statue, has an antelope-skin flung over the left shoulder (Piriya 1979:80-81)

A Kashmiri bronze of the eighth century, dated on palaeographic grounds by the inscription on the pedestal, is identified by Härtel (1960:74-76, pl. 44-45) as Śiva-Lokeśvara. The attributes of his four hands are: r.h. abhaya, rosary, l.h. trident, kamandalu.

Śiva was associated with the state. Coedès says that the political system in Cambodia was under a deep impact of the Śaiva concept of monarchy. King Jayavarman I (about 657-674) is termed *sākṣāt sahastrākṣah*, the thousand-eyed (Indra) incarnate. In Cambodia the greatest importance was attached to the identity of the king with Śiva (47). Filliozat opines that the idea of the Devarāja cult was borrowed from India as a manifestation of Śiva as the king of gods (Srivastava 1987:44-53). The thousand hands and eyes of Avalokiteśvara, and his Buddhisation as Nīlakanṭha Lokeśvara were live imperatives of state, for Amoghavajra (T 1056) actually invokes Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara to give impitrium (*śighrām vātam me rāstrām sarājakām kuru sahstra-bhuja sahasra-vīra Lokeśvara*).

Tiger skin was used in the mahābhiseka of a king in Vedic ritual (for details see Heesterman 1957:106ff.). The tiger skin plays a part strictly analogous to the part of the black antelope skin in the dīkṣā (ibid. 108). In the centre of the rituals at the place of sacrifice stands the king. With upraised arms he receives the unction. The king manifests himself as the cosmic pillar (ibid. 223), as the centre and pivot of the universe. Nīlakanṭha vyāghra in the Vulgate Version, vyāghra-carma-nivasana in the Longer Version of Vajrabodhi (T 1061), vāma-hasta-vyāghra-carma-nivasana in the Tibetan Version—all point to the importance of tiger skin. Śiva is Sthāny-iśvara (*sthānu* is 'post, pillar, standing, stationary, immovable'). The Nīlakanṭha hymn has Mahācala: acala 'immovable' in the Longer and Tibetan Versions, as well as Niścaraśvara 'the Lord of Stability' in the Tibetan Version. The nexus of the Nīlakanṭha hymn and the State is integral.

The infiltration of Śaiva tendencies into the cult of Avalokiteśvara has been discussed by Mallmann (1948:111-115). Klaproth had stated as early as 1831 (JA. 7:185-206) that the formula of Avalokitesvara *oṁ mani-padme hūm* consists of *mani* in the Śaiva sense of *linga* and *padma* is *yoni*. Recently Regamey (1971:427ff.) has pointed out the nexus of Avalokiteśvara with Maheśvara in the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha.

The emergence of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara is linked with the interiorisation of Iśvara/Śiva into Avalokita as Viśvarūpa. A step in the conversion of Śiva into a Buddhist deity was to suffix the word Iśvara to Avalokita, which gave rise to the term Avalokiteśvara, now used indiscriminately for all Lokeśvaras. The Saddharma-puṇḍarikasūtra (ed. Dutt p. 291, 292) says that Avalokiteśvara sometimes appears as a Buddha (*buddha-rūpeṇa*) and at other times as Iśvara or Maheśvara (*iśvara-rūpeṇa, maheśvara-rūpeṇa*). The eleven heads of Ekāduṣamukha are the Eleven Rudras/Ekuḍaśa Rudra. Thousand-eyed is an epithet of Rudra in the Atharva-veda 2.2. As amply proved by

different versions, the hymn of Nilakantha was attached to the Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara (Hob and K give the Sanskrit title Nilakanthaka to these texts).

"Avalokitesvara seems to have had no more importance in the Buddhism of western Tibet than in that of China and one may well suspect that this reflected the situation in Kashmir and the north-west generally. This confirms the suggestion made above that he only became a great god by confusion with Śiva, which occurred predominantly in central India and Nepal" (Snellgrove 1957:191). In a note thereon Snellgrove says: "There exists, however, one very important shrine at Triloknath in the Chenab gorge, where Śiva and Avalokitesvara are identified in the person of the Lord of the Three-Fold World". For a description of this shrine see J. Ph. Vogel, *Triloknath*, JASB. 70(1902):35ff.

(iv) The Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara is appropriately termed *Sahasra-bhuja-Lokanāthaḥ* in the Nepalese manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* dated A.D. 1015. It is an admission of the fact that popular deities (*loka-nātha*) were being incorporated into Buddhism. The mobilisation of the popular pantheon into Buddhism, like the twelve *mūy* and 72 *mahārākṣasī*, was an ongoing process. It had already started in the Pali Canon. The Ājanātiya (32) and Mahāsamaya (20) in the Dighanikāya are of analogous inspiration (Lévi 1915:21).

Avalokitesvara pronounced hymns to popular deities, to *Lokesvaras* or *Lokanāthas* and effected their entry into Buddhist scriptures and ritual. This process of interiorisation was intentionally blurred and rendered hazy, though it vestiges peep out here and there.

A Chinese manual of the liturgical service of Mahākārupika possessing a thousand hands and a thousand eyes was presented to Samuel Beal by the priests of the Hai Chwang Temple of Honan. It has a preface by Emperor Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty, dated A.D. 1412. The complete manual has been translated by Beal in the JRAS in 1866. Just before the commencement of the dhārapī it says: 'Kwan Yin forthwith began to deliver these comprehensive, effectual, complete, Great Compassionate Heart Dhārapī, mysterious and divine sentences' (Beal 1866:414). It is thus clear that Avalokita pronounces the dhāranī. How revealing that as late as the 15th century, the tradition knew that Avalokita pronounces the dhāranī. As the Master of the Logos, the Seer (*avalokita*) of the Sound (*svara*), as the mantra-draṣṭā, Avalokita pronounces hrdayas, although in later developments as a popular and plastic deity he is merged with the manifestation he invokes in the hrdaya.

Mythopoiesis is a fundamental process in culture. It is a continuing relationship between 'inside' and 'outside'. There is no 'inside' without an 'outside'. The 'inside' is interiorised and it becomes 'the inside of the inside'. Avalokitesvara is an exemplification of these vital courses of cultural renewal.

When Buddhism had to find a vitalising synthesis of the state and scriptures, the assimilation of Harihara into the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara was a natural step. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara is indeed invoked to bestow dominion in a version of Amoghavajra (T 1056) which entreats Him to grant sway over sovereign realm: *śīghram  
vāsah me rāj/rath sardjakam kuru*. The enduring flow of Cosmic Power protected and sanctified the State with ceaseless care. Interdependent relations of the sacred and the state were integral to the stabilisation of kingdoms and empires.

An eighth-century bronze of Harihara from Kashmir, regally attired and crowned, has four faces: Hari in the front, Hara at the back and two side faces of Varāha and Narasiṁha. A tiny effigy of the Earth Goddess lies between the feet. The donor referred to in the inscription is the queen-mother. Lord Harihara blesses the King on the left and the Queen on the right (Pal 1975:66 pl.9). Another image of the ninth century, worshipped in the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Temple at Chamba, is again a Four-faced Harihara. It has strong stylistic similarities with the aforesaid Kashmiri bronze, and has identical attributes. Likewise it blesses the King and Queen (Pal 1975:216 plate 84b). Varāha and Narasiṁha are the third and fourth incarnations of Viṣṇu who destroy the daitya king and stabilise the earth.

The new readings of the dhāraṇī that emerge out of comparative exegesis are refreshing like the ozone-laden morning air, with a distinct character, with poetic profundity and devotional daring. While this volume resurrects the dhāraṇī, it traces the very origins of the first Avalokita-svara, and the continuous and perplexing processes of assimilation that travel into a phantasmagoria of universes. Avalokita becomes a wave made of many waves.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE ORIGIN OF AVALOKITA-SVARA/AVALOKIT-EŚVARA

The etymology and theogony of Avalokita-svara/Avalokit-eśvara has been discussed by several scholars, like Burnouf (1844), Grünwedel (1900), Zimmer (1922), Mironov (1927), Vallée Poussin (1909), Takakusu (1914), Staël-Holstein (1936), Mallmann (1948), Yutaka (1982), and several others. These views have been detailed *in extenso* by Mallmann (1948: 59-82 le nom d'Avalokiteśvara) and hence we shall not repeat all the observations. All of them have missed the origin of A. and thus the etymology and variants of the name have remained obscure.

#### NOMENCLATURE

Three forms of the Sanskrit name are found: (i) Avalokita, (ii) Avalokita-svara, (iii) Avalokit-eśvara.

*Avalokita*. The name Avalokita occurs in Śantideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra 2.51 (7th cent.) *tām cĀvalokitam nātham*. Prajñākaramati's commentary (edited by L. de la Vallée Poussin, 1901:66) on this stanza: *sa bhagavān Avalokitah*. The great Sanskrit-German dictionary PW cites *Avalokita* = *Avalokiteśvara* from the three dictionaries: Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Anekārtha-saṅgraha, and Medinī: *Avalokito nā Lokanātthe, tṛṣṇu nirikṣite* (Medinī-kosa 1940:71.230). The Anekārtha-saṅgraha of Hemacandra 5.20 says *Avalokitas tu Buddhe, apy avalokitam īksite*. The Tibetan name *Spyan-ras-grigs* is an honorific translation of *Avalokita*.

Staël-Holstein (1936:357) cites "Lord Avalokita" from Kern's English version of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (SBE 21.406-407), which is wrong. The Sanskrit text clearly has the word *Avalokiteśvara* throughout. He cites *Avalokita-lokeśvara* from Cordier 2.154(21) which is a reconstruction by Cordier, whereas the original Tibetan xylograph has the transliteration *Avalokiteśvara*. He quotes *Avalokita* from Cordier 2.308(63), 2.316(128, 129, 130). All these four titles are reconstructions and are without value. Bhattacharyya (1958:411 fig. 44) illustrates *Avalokita Lokeśvara*, which is *Avalokiteśvara Lokeśvara* in the drawings of Siddhimuni Sakya (Lokesh Chandra 1981:44 fig. 64). Even this entry is doubtful. I (1981) have shown that the names of the 108 *Lokeśvaras* (not *Avalokiteśvaras*) in Bhattacharyya are misread in several places, and are unreliable. Staël-Holstein (1936:352) cites the Chinese *Kuan-shih-tzü-tsai* 観世自在 from Hsi-yü Chi (T. 51.883b) and Eitel's *Handbook* 25. Though the Chinese can be literally rendered as *Avalokita-lokeśvara*, this compound is not attested anywhere in Sanskrit. In fact, *loka* was deemed to be implicit in *Avalokita*. *Avalokita* was early understood as including *loka*. So the Chinese *Kuan-shih-tzü-tsai* cannot be taken for certain as standing for *Avalokita-lok-eśvara*.

*Avalokit-eśvara*. This name occurs in the Sanskrit version of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* for the first time. The *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* was translated into Chinese by Saṅghavarman in A.D. 252 (Nj 27, K 26). Saṅghavarman translated A. as *Kuan-shih-yin* 觀世音 (lit. \**Avalokita-loka-svara*, a compound not met with in any Sanskrit text). *Kuan-shih-yin* stands for *Avalokita-svara*. Mallmann (1948:71) discusses the Chinese term at length. The translation of Saṅghavarman raises a doubt whether the original reading in the third-century Sanskrit manuscript was not *Avalokita-svara*. The name *Avalokiteśvara* seems to be later, influenced by *īvara* = Śiva, which shows the interaction of Śaivism and the worship of *Avalokiteśvara*. This name had crystallised by the time when Hsüan-tsang completed his Travels/Hsi-yü Chi in A.D. 646. In the third chapter of his Travels (T.51.883b) Hsüan-tsang opines that *Kuan-tzü-tsai* = *Avalokit-eśvara* is the correct name. By his time *Avalokit-eśvara* must have been the prevalent name (Staël-Holstein 1936:354).

*Avalokita-svara* occurs five times on one incomplete leaf of an ancient Sanskrit manuscript of the fifth century written in Indian characters which has been found in Eastern Turkestan. It is a fragment of the 24th chapter of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, brought back by Count K. Otani's expedition. "As the name occurs five times on an incomplete leaf, the possibility of a clerical error is hardly admissible. The circumstance is especially important, as the Petrovsky ms. of *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* from Kashgar has the usual form *Avalokit-eśvara*. Thus a heretofore missing link between the Indian and Chinese traditions seems to have been found. It cannot be doubted that *Avalokitasvara* was the original form, later supplanted by *Avalokiteśvara*" (Mitonov 1927:245). That this is not a scribal error is clear from the Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary of Fa-yün compiled in A.D. 1151, Fan-i Ming-i Chi 翻譯名義集 (T 2131, 54.1062a, Nj 1640) which admits that sūtras written north of the Himalayas have *svara*

meaning 'sound' [instead of *svara*] (Staël-Holstein 1936:353). Ch'ang-kuan the fourth patriarch of the Avatamsaka school states in his commentary on the Avatamsaka-vaipulya-sūtra written during A.D. 784-787 (KS 1, Nj 1589, T 1735): "In the Sanskrit originals themselves two different names of the Bodhisattva occur. It is due to this difference in the Sanskrit originals that the Chinese translators of these same originals differ as to the names of the Bodhisattva" (Staël-Holstein 1936:353-354).

Chih Ch'ien, in his translation of the Vimalakirti-nirdeśa (T 474, Nj 147) done in the years A.D. 223-228 (K 120), translates Avalokita-svara 観音 (T 14.519b, Staël-Holstein 1936: 354 n.9). Kumārajīva who translated the same sūtra 178 years later in A.D. 406 (K 119) rendered A. by the earlier and popular name Kuan-shih-yin (T 475:14.537b, Nj 146) wherein the final element is *svara*.

The name Kuan-yin 觀音 = Avalokita-svara occurs in the title of two commentaries (T 1726 = Nj 1555, T 1728 = Nj 1557) of Chisha daishi the founder of the Tendai sect who lived from A.D. 538 to 598 (Hubogirin 1978:238-239).

From the above we come to the following conclusions:

(1) The Chinese sources clearly indicate that there were two forms of the Sanskrit name: Avalokita-svara and Avalokit-eśvara.

(2) The earliest Sanskrit name was Avalokita-svara.

(3) With the seeping in of Śaiva influence the name became Avalokit-eśvara (īśvara = Śiva). This process can be seen clearly in the Nilakanṭha or Potala Lokeśvara/Avalokiteśvara (Lokesh Chandra 1979).

(4) During the indeterminate phase when it was not clear as to which of the two names Avalokita-svara or Avalokit-eśvara should be used, the abbreviated form Avalokita must have become popular, as is evidenced by Sanskrit texts and the widely prevalent Tibetan Spyan-ras-gzigs = Avalokita.

(5) The reconstructed forms \*Avalokita-lokeśvara and \*Avalokita-loka-svara used by Poussin, Staël-Holstein and others without any indication that they are artificial creations and continued by Mallmann, lead to confusion. They should be avoided.

*Chinese names.* Chinese has the following six names:

K'o-lou-hsüan, Jap. Ko-ro-kō 廬樓豆	(used once by the author)
K'uei-yin, Jap. Kion 聰音	(used once by the author)
Kuan-shih-yin, Jap. Kanzeon 観世音	
Kuang-shih-yin, Jap. Kōzeon 光世音	(used once by the author)
Kuan-yin, Jap. Kannon 観音	
Kuang-tzü-tsai, Jap. Kanjizai 観自在	

盧 樓 直  
K'o-lou-hsifan, Jap. Ko-ro-kn

觀 音  
K'uei-yin, Jap. Kion

觀 世 音  
Kuan-shih-yin, Jap. Kanzeon.

光 世 音  
Kuang-shih-yin, Jap. Kōzeon

觀 音  
Kuan-yin, Jap. Kannon

觀 自 在  
Kuang-tzū-tsai, Jap. Kanjizai

A.D.	The chronology of these names is shown below:
1 147-186	K'o-lou-hsüan = Skt. a-lo-sva?, Lokakṣema: Sukhāvatī-vyūha (Nj 25, T 361, K 24)
2 223-228	K'uei-yin, Chih Ch'ien: Vimalakirti-nirdeśa (Nj 147, T 474, K 120)
3 252	Kuan-shih-yin, Saṅghavarman: Sukhāvatī-vyūha (T 360, K 26)
252	Kuan-shih-yin, Saṅghavarman: Gṛhapatī-Ugra-paripṛečchā (T 310/19, K 22/19)
4 286	Kuang-shih-yin 光世音 'Light on the world's voice', Dharmarakṣa: Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (T 263, K 117, Yutaka 1982:28)
374-426	Kuan-shih-yin, Fu-liang: Kuan-shih-yin-ying-yen-chi 'Record of Miraculous Efficacy of A.' (Yutaka 1982:28)
399-414	Kuan-shih-yin, Fa-hsien: Travels (Legge 1886:14, Giles 1923:123). Fa-hsien says that followers of Mahāyāna revere A. On his way back home he himself prayed to Him during a gale (Legge 1886:112-113)
406	Kuan-shih-yin, Kumārajīva: Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (T 262, K 116)
414-421	Kuan-shih-yin, Dharmakṣema: Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (T 157, K 126)
418-422	Kuan-shih-yin, Buddhabhadra: Avataṁsaka-sūtra (T 278, K 79)
501	Kuan-shih-yin, Lu Kao: Hsi Kuan-shih-yin-ying-yen-chi 'A Collected Record of the Miracles of A.' (Yutaka 1982:28-29)
5 538-598	Kuan-yin, Chisha daishū (T 1726 = Nj 1555, T 1728 = Nj 1557)
593-628	In the reign of Empress Sui-ko, Prince Shōtoku built the Yume-dono or Hall of Dreams in the Horyuji to meditate on A. (Takakusu 1914:763)
601	Kuan-shih-yin, Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta: Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (T 264, K 118)
6 646	Kuan-tzū-tsai, Hsüan-tsang: Hsi-yü Chi (Nj 1503, T 2087, K 1065)
660-663	Kuan-tzū-tsai, Hsüan-tsang: Mahāprajñāparamitā (T 220, K 1)
695-699	Kuan-tzū-tsai, Śikṣānanda: Avataṁsaka-sūtra (T 279, K 80)
784-787	Kuan-tzū-tsai & Kuan-shih-yin (two names), Ch'eng-kuan, commentary on the Avataṁsaka-sūtra (Nj 1589, T 1735, KS 1)
828	Wēn-tsung ordered that an image be set up and worshipped in 44,600 monasteries of the empire (Takakusu 1914:763)

From the above chronological synopsis of Chinese names, six points are clear:

- (1) The earliest name was Avalokita-svara, as evidenced by Chih Ch'ien's translation K'uei-yin.
- (2) When the original meaning got dimmed, the Chinese translators took the term *loka* 'world' (Chin. 世 shih) implied in avalokita (Yutaka 1982:14) and translated A. as Kuan-shih-yin 'He who listens to the cries of the world'. This was part of the developing bhakti trend in Buddhism wherein the prime function of A. came to be to hearken to the needs of his devotees in the world. Kumārajīva popularised this term by his use in the Lotus Sutra in A.D. 406.

- (3) I have not been able to ascertain the earliest use of the name Kuan-yin. It was employed in the sixth century by Chisha Daishi the founder of the Tendai sect in his commentary on Kumārajīva's separate translation of the chapter on Avalokiteśvara (Nj 137). Hence onwards the worship of Avalokita was adopted by all sects, and the name Kuan-yin, Jap. Kannon became popular.
- (4) Till the time of Hsüan-tsang all the Chinese translations invariably end in 真 yin 'svara':
- (5) In A.D. 646, Hsüan-tsang translated Avalokit-eśvara as Kuan-tzū-tsai, where tzū-tsai = īvara. For the first time he discarded the form ending in *svara* and adopted the form with īvara, namely Avalokit-eśvara. This must have been the prevalent usage in India during his time. Fifty years later Śiksānanda followed his usage.
- (6) The alteration of *svara* and īvara was explained by the fact that Svara = īvara, Śabda is Brahman, just as "the seminal Logos of the Stoics, when spoken of as a single Power, is God Himself as the organic principle of the cosmic process..." (ERE.8.134b).

#### THEOGONY OF A.

*Fundamental cosmology of Heaven and Earth.* The substantive origin and correct appellation of A. become intelligible when we go back to the very foundations. Both the Indic and Indo-European traditions have Father Heaven (*dyauṣ pitar*) and Mother Earth (*prthivī mātar*). *Īyavā-prthivī* 'Heaven and Earth' are indissolubly connected in nature. Heaven and Earth as a divine pair are the source of all things. They occur as a pair in six hymns of the Rigveda (Macdonell 126). The two are called *rodasī*, the two worlds, an expression occurring over a hundred times in the RV. The word *rodasī* continues to exist in the Russian language and it became the inspiring battle-cry of the Russians in the Second World War: *zhivyat rodina mat* = Sanskrit *jīvāt rodasī mātā* : Long live Mother Earth. The heaven was represented by Śakra and the earth (*sahā*) by Brahmā: *Śakro devānām Indro Brahmā ca sahāmpatiḥ* (Kāraṇḍavyūha, ed. P.L. Vaidya 258.20). Heaven and Earth represent the totality of space, for supreme awareness takes place and is sanctified in spatial symbolism (Tucci 1949:1.263 n.279). Lord Buddha as the Supreme Cakravartin of all space and time, is naturally attended upon by Śakra the king (*śatru*) of gods or heaven and by Brahmā the lord of the earth (*sahā*). When Lord Buddha was born, Śakra and Brahmā attended upon him: "it was accepted as absolute fact that only divine hands could be worthy of receiving the Bodhisattva when he came from his mother's body. ...Indra and Brahmā officiated as midwives... On the early monuments with figures, Indra is closer at hand while Brahmā is pushed further back because of the perspective, or even to the other side of the panel...When Hsüan-Tsang visited the park of Lumbī, he was shown the two places side by side: one where Indra had received and swaddled the miraculous infant and the other where the "Four Celestial Kings" had done the same with the same divine cloths" (Foucher 1963:33). When Lord Buddha attained Enlightenment, Brahmā held a white parasol over His head (Buddhavamsa commentary, PTS.287), and offered a chain of jewels

(*ratna-dāma*) as large as Sumeru (Khuddakapāṭha comm. PTS.171, Vinayapiṭaka comm. PTS. 1.115, Visuddhimagga PTS.1.201). Brahmā appeared to Lord Śākyamuni and said that if the World-honoured One, failed to teach the truth, the world would become darker than it already was. "As an outcome of the pleading of Brahmā, Śākyamuni decided to teach the truth to which he had been enlightened. And when he had arrived at a method of making his message as easy to understand as possible, he concluded his weeks of meditation and began his teaching" (Mizuno 1980:30). In the Pali tradition Brahmā recited a verse exhorting the Buddha to preach as there were those who would understand (Samyutta-nikāya PTS.1.137f., 233), and he uttered a verse immediately after the nirvāṇa of Lord Buddha (Samyutta-nikāya 158, Dīghanikāya 2.157). Brahmā Sahampati was the seniormost of all Brahmās (*jettha-mahā Brahmā*, Dīghanikāya 2.96f., Dīgh. comm. 2.467, *Dialogues of the Buddha* 2.30 n.4).

*Buddha the cakravartin attended by the Kings of Heaven and Earth Indra and Brahmā.* Lord Buddha was and acted like a cakravartin. He turned the dharmacakra: the term dharma-cakra-pravartana has been borrowed from the terminology of royalty. When Lord Buddha was to attain nirvāṇa, Ānanda "asked how the ceremony should be carried out. Shakyamuni replied that it should be the kind of funeral afforded to a cakravartin king and then explained in detail" (Mizuno 1980:186). The Mahāpadana-sutta says the birth of a cakravartin is attended by the same miracles as that of a Buddha and likewise his youth. Both have the attributes of a *mahāpuruṣa*. A cakravartin deserves a stūpa like a Buddha (Dīghanikāya 2.143). "With the appearance of a Cakkavatti there appear seven treasures in the world; similarly, with the appearance of a Tathāgata there appear the seven treasures of wisdom—mindfulness, searching of the Dhamma, energy, zest, tranquillity, concentration, equanimity" (Cakkavatti-sutta of Samyutta-nikāya 5.99, Malalasekera 1937:1.833). As the supreme cakravartin Lord Buddha was attended on by the Lords of both Heaven and Earth, namely, Indra and Brahmā. Sharma (1978:37-39) has collected references to them from Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, Avadāna-sataka, and Jātaka-mālā. As acolytes of the Buddha, the two divine kings became symbolised as *brahma ca kṣatram ca* of the R̥gveda, namely, knowledge and power, wisdom and empirium. They thus entered a world of creativity and of new mythopoetics: now they could be transformed and transcreated.

*Indra and Brahmā flank Lord Buddha in sculpture.* Brahmā and Indra attend on Lord Buddha as adorants in the oldest sculptures from Gandhara and Mathura. They stand to His left and right. Their position to the left or right is not fixed in the early images. Brahmā has the hairdo of an ascetic and Indra wears a turban. Images from Gandhara, Butkara I and Swat show Brahmā and Indra entreating the Buddha to preach (Leeuw 1979:fig.11, 12, 13, 32, 33, 34, 35). So does a relief in the Peshwar Museum (Leeuw 1949:176 fig.25). The Kaniṣka reliquary found in the great stūpa at Shāh-jī-kī Ḏherī of the reign of Kaniṣka I shows Indra and

Brahmā with hands folded in añjali flanking the Buddha (Dobbins 1971:25, Leeuw 1949:99). The two divine kings flank the seated Buddha of the kapardin type found at Katga (Mathura Museum, Leeuw 1949:fig.31), another broken image of a seated Buddha of the kapardin type now at Boston (Leeuw 1949:fig.32), a relief found in the Jail Mound at Mathura (Lucknow Museum, Leeuw 1949:fig.33). Brahmā and Indra formed a 'permanent couple' on either side of the Master. This tradition goes back to very ancient aniconic times when we find the two great gods in adoration of an empty seat under the Bodhi tree on a railing pillar from Mahaban (Mathura Museum no.2663, Leeuw 1949:176 n.111). In the Gupta and Pala sculptures, Brahmā can be recognised by his four heads and Indra by his vajra.

*Transcendance of Buddha, Indra and Brahmā.* With the rise of transcendental tendencies in Buddhism, Śākyamuni the Man was replaced by Amitābha. His historic Enlightenment was transcended into Supreme Enlightenment whose illumination became the new dynamised centre reflected in the new Tathāgata Amitābha. A deliberate effort was made to change the morphology and nomenclature of an emerging form of Buddhism, and to emphasize its unceasing development. The Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha is set forth by Śākyamuni to a question by Ānanda. The Buddha relates that there was a line of 81 Tathāgatas beginning with Dīpañkara and ending with Lokeśvararāja. In the period of Lokeśvararāja, Dharmākara a king turned monk resolves to become a Buddha. Dharmākara meditates and reappears before Lokeśvararāja. He describes at length the land of bliss or Sukhāvatī in his 48 vows. All the details are related by Śākyamuni to Ānanda who thereupon asks the present whereabouts of Dharmākara. Śākyamuni replies that he is reigning in Sukhāvatī as Buddha Amitābha. ...Dharmākara may be an actual monk of this tradition who systematised and wrote down the cult and doctrine of Amitābha.

*Transcendence leads to change of nomenclature.* Śākyamuni was flanked by Brahmā and Śakra. But when Śākyamuni became Amitābha, the attendant acolytes changed names: Brahmā became Avalokita-svara and Śakra became Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Brahmā envisions the mantras and as the upholder of the vision enshrined in mantras He holds the Four Vedas in His hands. He is the supreme symbol of brahma-ghoṣa, the revealed Word of mantras. In the new terminology He was *Avalokita* 'seer' + of *svara* 'Word, Logos'. We have already noted that the form *Avalokita-svara* is actually found in Central Asian manuscripts. The Chinese Kuan-yin and Japanese Kannon is *Kuan/kan* 'see' + *yin/on* 'sound', a translation of *Avalokita-svara*. Śakra means 'The Powerful One' from the root *śak* 'to be powerful', and so does *mahā* 'great' + *sthāma* 'power, stamina' + *prāpta* 'attained'.

*Śakra/Indra becomes Mahāsthāmaprāpta.* The metamorphosis of Śakra/Indra to Mahāsthāmaprāpta goes back to his earliest characterisation in the Rgveda. Śakra is from the root

*sak*, from which is derived *Sakti* 'power'. Both Śakra and Mahāsthāmaprāpta symbolise might. Indra wields the vajra and it exhilarates him to carry out his warlike deeds (Macdonell 56). The gigantic size and fierce might of Indra is dwelt upon in many passages of the R̄gveda: "When Indra grasped the two boundless worlds, they were but a handful to him (RV.3.30.5). ... His greatness and power are lauded in the most unstinted terms. ...No one, god or man, either surpasses or equals him (RV.6.30.4). Neither former, later, nor recent beings have attained to his valour (RV.5.42.6). Neither gods nor men nor waters have attained to the limit of his might (RV.1.100.15). ...All the gods yield to him in might and strength (RV.8.51.7). Even the former gods subordinated their powers to his divine glory and kingly dignity (RV.7.21.7). All the gods are unable to frustrate his deeds and counsels (RV.2.32.4)" (Macdonell 57-58). "Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, who destroys the aerial demons in battle, is constantly invoked by warriors" (Macdonell 62). "Regarded as a whole the attributes of Indra are chiefly those of physical superiority and of dominion over the physical world. Energetic action is characteristic of him, while passive sway is distinctive of Varuna. Indra is a universal monarch, not as the applier of the eternal laws of the universe nor as a moral ruler, but as an irresistible warrior whose mighty arm wins victory" (Macdonell 64). In continuation of the Vedic tradition, he was rightly termed one who has attained (*prapta*) mighty (*maha*) prowess (*sthāma*). The new name celebrated the main attribute of Indra, namely, dominating superiority and energetic action.

The Pali Dhammapad-āṭṭhakathā 4.105f. mentions Indra as a giver of punishment to guilty people with his thunderbolt (*Inda-vajira*, Haldar 1977:84). "In the fourteenth Sutta of Samyutta-nikāya, Sakka explains how new gods, who outshine the old ones, do so because they observe the Buddha's teachings" (Haldar 1977:85). He is spoken of as the lord of victors in Jātakas 5.322 (*jayatam pati*), and he is the embodiment of the greatest valour (Mahāvāraṇa 30. 10). He is called Vajira-hattha in the Digha-nikāya 2.259. The sound of Indra's thunderbolt striking its victim, surpasses all other sounds by its intensity, its volume and its fearfulness no obstruction can stop the progress of Indra's Vajira and it never misses its mark (Malalasekera 1937:1.309-310). Mahāsthāmaprāpta continues to hold the vajra in his hand. Later on he developed into Vajrapāni and Ākāśagarbha. Buddhaghosa tells us that Vajrapāni is the same as Sakka (A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, p.30).

*Brahmā becomes A.* Brahmadī, the other adorant of the pair, was renamed Avalokita-svara and he held a lotus in his hand. Brahma represents *brahman* the sacred word. He is Vagīvara (Liebert 1976:46). He envisions the mantras (*mantra-draṣṭṛ*). In the Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra A. is the great *vidyādhīpati*, and he is in possession of hundreds of mantras: *aneka-mantra-saṅga-vakīrṇa* (EB.2.269b). Svara, the second member of the compound of Avalokita-svara rightly characterises him. The association of Brahmadī with *brahma-ghoṣa* or the Vedas needs no detailing. The Vedas, envisaged as the Eternal-Law (Dharma), the scheme of

the universe, spring from Brahma and return into him. Brahma is also the Great Lord of Speech (*Bṛhas-pati*), the First-Seer (*Ādi-kavi*) (Daniélou 1964:234, 235). In his four hands he can hold the four Vedas. Brahma-svara is the name of a former Buddha in the Mahāvastu 3. 231.11f. In Samādhirāja 57.7f. the names of two former Buddhas are Brahmeśvara.

Just as Brahmā is *Caturānana* or *Caturmukha* ‘Four-faced’ (Amarakoṣa 1.1.16-18) so is Avalokita-svara. The 24th chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra calls him Samantamukha or facing all the four directions. The Rūpa-mandana says that the four faces of Brahmā represent the four Vedas: R̥gveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda (*R̥gvedādi-prabhedena...catur-vaktrām caturbhujatī*).

Brahmā is born of the lotus: he is Abja-ja, Abja-yoni, Kamala-yoni, Kañja-ja, Kañja-yoni, Sarojin (Liebert 1976:46). Avalokita-svara prominently sports the lotus in his hand, in keeping with his originator Brahmā.

Brahmā holds a water-gourd (*Brahmā kamandalu-dharah kartavyah sa caturmukhah*, Matsya-purāṇa 259.40). Avalokita-svara with a vase abounds in Japanese iconography, for example, the A. at Dōmyōji monastery at Osaka (Yoshiaki 1969:fig.80). The earliest wooden sculptures of A. with vase are the Kudara Kannon and Kumen Kannon in the Daibozōden Repository of the Hōryūji monastery (Kuno 1966:fig.57, 58 and 60).

Brahmā Sahampati is the lord of the earth (*sahā*). He is Lokesvara in the Amarakoṣa 1.1. 16. Avalokita-svara too is Loka-nātha and Lokesvara. The ideograph *shih* 世 ‘world, loka’ in the Chinese translations reflects this fundamental characteristic of A.

It is clear that Brahmā was transcreated into Avalokita-svara. In the earliest periods, the Chinese renderings of the term show *yīn* 音 = svara. The original and correct term therefore is Avalokita-svara, preserved in Chinese Kuan-[shih-]yin = Japanese Kan-[ze-]on to this day. Avalokitesvara was a later hyper-Sanskritisation, when the underlying meaning of the term had been lost.

The earliest and superb masterpiece painting of Amitābha with Mahāsthāmaprāpta to the right and A. to the left is the mural done on Wall 6 of the Golden Hall (Kondō) of the Hōryūji monastery in the seventh century.

*Preeminence of A.* The Bodhisattvas are not equal among themselves. In the “heaven of Amitābha there are two, Avalokita and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, almost as great and luminous as Buddha, who sit on thrones equal to his. Avalokita is the more majestic; this is due to his vow to bring all beings, without exception, into the ‘happy land’. And while his glorious body illuminates a great many worlds, he traverses them all in different forms, sometimes real and sometimes magical; like Amitābha himself, he has parts of himself incarnated here and there; he never forgets for a moment his role as provider of the Sukhāvatī” (Poussin 1909:ERE.2. 258b). Avalokita-svara is called Sukhāvatīvara in the lexicon Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa. The predominance of Avalokita-svara over Mahāsthāmaprāpta can also be explained by his antecedent

deity. Like Avalokita-svara, his origin Brahmā Sahampati was a mighty and powerful Mahābrahmā (Sarhyutta-nikāya 5.410 quoted in Malalasekera 1960:338). A. became an independent deity and gained perennial popularity that has continued to our day. His wide vogue led to the incorporation of a number of other deities into His many forms, like Nilakaṇṭha Lokeśvara with or without a thousand arms.

*Further transformations.* The transformation of Indra into Mahasthamaprapta, and of Brahmā into Avalokita-svara, continued to evolve into new deities. Two new pairs developed:

Indra	Brahmā
Mahasthamaprapta	Avalokita-svara
Vajrapāṇi	Padmapāṇi
Ākāśagarbha	Kṣitigarbha

The pair of Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi symbolise the attributes held in the hands, while Ākāśagarbha and Kṣitigarbha stress the spatial dominions of Heaven (ākāśa) and Earth (kṣiti) of the pair. In the Garbhadhātu mandala of the eighth century Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi flank Vairocana. So do they stand to the right and left of Vairocana the central deity of the eighth century Candi Mendut at Yogyakarta (Indonesia). The Sang Hyang Karmahāyānikan (10th cent.) speaks of Śakyamuni flanked by Lokeśvara on the right and Vajrapāṇi on the left. Lokeśvara is of red colour and in dhyāna-mudrā. Vajrapāṇi is blue and in bhūḥsparśa-mudrā (p.60). The trinity is equated as follows:

	tattva (p.63)	triratna (p.64)
Śakyamuni	artha	Buddha
Lokeśvara	karma	dharma
Vajrapāṇi	śabda	sāṅgha

In the Lha-khaṇ of the Lotsava, attributed by tradition to Rin-chen-bzāñ-po (A.D. 958-1055), remain great stucco statues of Śakyamuni seated in the middle, Maitreya and Maṇjuśrī, Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi standing at his two sides (Tucci & Ghersi 1935:183). These go back to the early times of the Buddhist revival in the land of Guge. Thus we can discern several transformations of the original pair of Indra and Brahmā flanking Lord Buddha.

## CHAPTER 3

### ASSIMILATION OF DEITIES INTO AVALOKITEŚVARA

*Distinction between Lokeśvara and Avalokiteśvara.* In ever-expanding Buddhist theogony, new deities acted as auxiliaries to the well-known ones. Thus in course of time certain deities were assimilated into Avalokiteśvara, when their origins were either forgotten or intentionally obliterated. Bhattacharyya (1958:394-431) lumped together 108 Lokeśvaras as "108 forms of Avalokiteśvara", inspite of the fact that they are clearly termed 108 Lokeśvaras and Bhattacharyya has also called them Lokeśvara in 107 names, except ĀryĀvalokiteśvara, the first name in all manuscripts of the hymn (but the last no.108 in Bhattacharyya). Thus we see that Bhattacharyya has a disordered sequence. Hayagrīva Lokeśvara is the first in his list though in the Sanskrit hymn invoking the 108 Lokeśvaras Hayagrīva is the last (no.108). In quite early times the distinction between Lokeśvara and Avalokiteśvara had been lost sight of. While Lokeśvara was a generic term, Avalokiteśvara was a specific deity. Lokeśvara signified the deities (*śīvara*) in popular (*loka*) worship that were syncretised into the Buddhist pantheon. Liebert (1976:154) states that Lokeśvara "is firstly name of a group of deities whose forms have arisen out of a syncretistic confusion of Hindu and Buddhist ideas". But later on in the entry, this clarity is lost when Liebert is misled by Bhattacharyya's treatment of the 108 Lokeśvaras as 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara.

*Avalokiteśvara as one of the Lokeśvaras.* Avalokiteśvara was a metamorphosis of Brahmā, as pointed out earlier: as such he is a Lokeśvara. Besides, Lokeśvara is one of the synonyms of Brahmā as Lord of the Earth, which gave rise to the equation Lokeśvara = Avalokiteśvara. The nomenclatorial duality of Lokeśvara/Brahmā = Avalokiteśvara and Avalokiteśvara being one of the Lokeśvaras or popular deities led to a chain of confusions and fusions. We shall take up the assimilation of Hayagrīva.

*Was Hayagrīva an Avalokiteśvara?* Alicia Matsunaga (1969:125) thinks that "one of the later forms of Avalokiteśvara to develop was the horse-headed (Hayagrīva) figure. Besides appearing as a changed form of the bodhisattva, this deity also enjoys an independent existence as Hayagrīva".

In the Sino-Japanese title *Batō-kannon-shin-darani* (T 1072b)\* of the Hayagrīva-vidyā

\*The text T 1072b (20.170) was copied by bhikṣu Sōzu according to Daishi (Ācārya), and transmitted by the monks of the Hannyaji monastery. Book with division marks (*shutsuki-ten*). It is an ancient manuscript in the Sanmitsuzō Repository of the Tōji temple.

(written in the Siddham script during the years 618-805), the term *Batō-kannon* means 'Hayagrīva-Avalokiteśvara'. The term *Batō Kanzeon bosatsu*, that is, Hayagrīva Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva (T 18.834c) occurs in the Dhāraṇī-samuccaya (T.901, Nj.363) of Atikūṭa who completed it at Ch'ang-an on 6 May 654 (K 308). Thus, as early as the 7th century Hayagrīva was deemed to be a form of Avalokiteśvara in China.

The Mahāvairocana-sutra, translated by Śubhakarasiṁha and Ichigyō in A.D. 725 (T 848, Nj.530, K 427), mentions Batō Kannon (Chin. Ma-t'ou kuan-yin 馬頭觀音) that is Hayagrīva Avalokiteśvara. He is one of the eight *vidyārāja* and "he is a transformation of Kwanjizai Bosatsu" (Suzuki 1937:179). By the eighth century the confusion of Hayagrīva as a form of Avalokiteśvara was fairly entrenched in the Chinese tradition.

*Avalokiteśvara utters the hrdaya of Hayagrīva*. In Tibetan none of the sādhanas of Hayagrīva in the Tanjur (Toh. 2142, 3053-55, 3277, 3390, 3621, 3656) attaches the epithet Avalokiteśvara. However, Kanjur has a title *Hphags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phylug Ha-ya-grī-vāhi gzuṇs* (Toh 733) = Arya-Avalokiteśvara-Hayagrīva-dhāraṇī. This title does not imply that Hayagrīva is a form of Avalokiteśvara, as will become clear shortly. It is a Tibetan transcription of the Sanskrit text. It consists of four parts:

- (i) Salutation to Avalokiteśvara
- (ii) Extolling the virtues of the Hayagrīva-brahma-parama-hṛdaya pronounced by Avalokiteśvara
- (iii) Text of the hṛdaya
- (iv) The second hṛdaya is entitled: Hayagrīva-sarva-vidyā-hṛdaya.

Homage is paid to Avalokiteśvara the supreme bodhisattva who does away with all afflictions and sorrows, and dispels all fears and apprehensions. He is the supreme lord of all thaumaturgical sciences (*sarva-vidyā-rāja-*): and as such he is to enunciate the hymn to Hayagrīva. The author goes on to give the hṛdaya uttered by Avalokiteśvara (*tasya nama-skrttvā idam āryāvalokiteśvara-mukh-udgīrṇam . . . hayagrīva-brahma-parama-hṛdayam āvartayisyāmī*). The expression *udgīrṇam* makes it clear beyond doubt that Avalokiteśvara enunciates the formula to Hayagrīva. The text does not identify the two as one deity. The title of the work Arya-Avalokiteśvara-Hayagrīva-dhāraṇī should mean the dhāraṇī to Hayagrīva [pronounced by] Avalokiteśvara, but it could be and was misconstrued as the dhāraṇī to Avalokiteśvara-Hayagrīva.

An earlier version of this dhāraṇī is found in the Gilgit manuscripts (serial no.33). The Gilgit text has variant readings in the first three parts, while its fourth part is entirely different and deals with ritual: it omits the Hayagrīva-sarva-vidyā-hṛdaya. The texts of the two versions can be seen in Dutt (1939:1. text 43-46). The crucial sentences pointing out

that Avalokiteśvara *utters* the hr̥daya of Hayagrīva are the same and confirm the Tibetan version.

The portion on ritual in the Gilgit version reads: *atha sādhitum icchet/ candana-mayam Loketvara-pratimā kāryā/ dakṣinē ḫrya-Vajradharah/ vāmen ḫry-Āvalokiteśvaraḥ trimūrtih kāryah/ sarvopari vadavā-mukhah para-vidyā-saṁbhakṣanah/*. This has not been correctly interpreted by Dutt (introd. 61); "The deity invoked is horse-faced but the following directions are given for making the image: In the centre Lokeśvara (i.e. Buddha) of Candana wood, on the right Vajradhara, on the left Avalokiteśvara and on the top of all these, a horse-face (*vadavāmukha*) which is believed to counteract the effects of other mantras". Dutt has misconstrued Lokeśvara as Buddha, and this leads to the conspicuous absence of Hayagrīva. Here Lokeśvara refers to Hayagrīva. Avalokiteśvara was responsible for introducing popular (*laka*) deities (*īśvara*) into the Buddhist pantheon by pronouncing their dhāraṇīs which averted evils to the person who obtained his wishes as soon as he recited it (*pashita-siddhah*, Dutt: text 44). The word *trimūrti* is important for iconographic terminology. It is equivalent to the Japanese term *sanzon* 三尊 'the three venerables' which refers to trinities like: (i) Buddha, dharma, saṅgha, (ii) Amitabha, Avalokiteśvara, Mahasthāmaprāpta, (iii) Bhaisajya-guru, Sūryaprabha, Candraprabha, and (iv) Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra (JEBD.261). The *vadavā-mukha* or mare's mouth at the top corresponds to the decorative kāla-makara motif composed of a Kāla head holding two makaras and used in Indian and Javanese art to ornate the lintel of temple doors to ward off evil from the sacred precincts. Kāla-mṛga combines a Kāla head with two deer. The mare's mouth guarded against and thwarted the magical charms of the adversary. The word *para-vidyā-saṁbhakṣanah* has been translated by Dutt as "to counteract the effects of other mantras". The word *para* does not mean 'other', but refers to enemies of the officiant. This is clear from earlier sentences: *khāda khāda para-mantram, para-mantra-vināśaka, yāvanta mama . . . ahitaisitas tān sarvān vadavā-mukhenā nikṛntaya phat*.

*Avalokita becomes Thousand-armed.* Avalokiteśvara takes the form of Maheśvara (Śiva), chiefly in his aspect of Amoghapāśa whose mantra contains mahāpaśupati an epithet of Śiva, and in his Ekādaśamukha form with a 1000 arms and 1000 eyes. In the new Chinese translation of the name Kuan-tzu-tsai, Tzu-tsai 'Īśvara' parallels Īśvara in Maheśvara (Stein 1977:600). The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara reminds of the myth of the Cosmic Man (*Puruṣa*) of the Rgveda. He is also the prototype of posterior deities in their viśvarūpa form: Viṣṇu with a thousand arms and thousand eyes, Indra and Śiva with a thousand eyes. These deities have served as a model for the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara (ib. 603). When he appears in the infernal regions (Kāraṇḍavyūha) as

a Purusa with a thousand arms, a thousand eyes and eleven heads, Yama asks him in astonishment whether he is Maheśvara (Śiva) or Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu): "prototypes possibles d'Avalokiteśvara" (ib. 605). That Hari-hara (Hari = Nārāyaṇa, Hara = Maheśvara) is the prototype of the Thousand-eye-armed Avalokiteśvara is clear from his epithets in his hymn.

*Process of transition: from a locutor Avalokiteśvara becomes the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.* In the hymns to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara we can see the same process of transition. Originally Avalokiteśvara was the *locutor* of the hṛdaya hymn to Nilakantha, but later on Nilakantha became a form of Avalokiteśvara. The Chinese transcriptions of this hymn can be analysed into four parts:

1. Salutation to Avalokiteśvara who proclaims the hymn to Nilakantha
2. Merits of the hymn to Nilakantha (versified in a stanza)
3. Dhāraṇī to Nilakantha, commencing with the classical phrase *tadyathā*
4. Final salutation to the Ratna-traya and Avalokiteśvara.

The end of the first part is crucial to find out the relationship of Avalokitesvara and Nilakantha. Vajrabodhi (T 1061, K 1270) has preserved a better text which is available in the Siddham script in T 20.1062a: *tasmai namaskṛtvā idam āry-Āvalokiteśvara-bhāṣitah Nilakantha-nāma*. It seems that the corruption in the other versions was effected on purpose. We are very fortunate to have Vajrabodhi's version where it is unmistakable that the hymn to Nilakantha was spoken (*bhāṣita*) by Avalokiteśvara. Both the Gilgit and Tibetan versions of the Hayagrīva-vidyārāja (Dutt 1.43-46) support the reading of Vajrabodhi's version; *tasmai* (Tib. *tasya*) *namaskṛtvā idam āry-Āvalokiteśvara-mukhodgīrṇam ... Hayagrīva-nāma-(Tib. brahma-) parama-hṛdayam āvartayisyāmi*.

The reconstructions of the Sanskrit title of three versions of the hymn in the Hobogirin is rightly Nilakantha:

T. 1057b	Chih-t'ung	*Nilakantha[ka]?
T. 1061	Vajrabodhi	Nilakantha[ka]?
T. 1113b	Amoghavajra	Nilakantha-dhāraṇī

*Affiliation to assimilation or confusion to fusion.* The forms assimilated into Avalokiteśvara always created confusion in defining the origins of Avalokiteśvara as well as to understand the continuing process of changing affiliations. Stein (1977:601) considers Hayagrīva to be a "forme terrible d'Amitābha-Avalokiteśvara". He regards Nilakantha as "une autre forme d'Avalokiteśvara" (ib. 602). Though integrated into Avalokiteśvara as one of its forms, the status of Ekādaśamukha fluctuated. As chief of the mandala he is

identified with Roshana = [Vai]rocana. As a tejorāja (roi de lumière, tejas), as a king of thousand lights ("roi de mille lumières") in Tibetan, and in Svara's Senkōgengyō 'Thousand-light-eye-sūtra' (T 1065) he belongs to the same realm as Vairocana of the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala. The maṇḍala of Ekādaśamukha was construed like the Garbhadhātu (ib. 599). The affiliation and assimilation of deities into Avalokiteśvara continued to oscillate.

### LOKEŚVARA/AVALOKITEŚVARA OF POTALA

The Buddha is termed Mahādeva in an inscription of the first century B.C. "In a Bharhut inscription (c.100 B.C.) we come across an example of Buddha regarded as saviour from difficulty and named Mahādeva. The inscription runs as follows: 'Vasugupta was rescued by Mahādeva from the belly of the sea-monster', and the sculpture shows people in a boat about to be swallowed by a sea-monster. This is understandable from various literary sources such as Pali Avadāna, Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, Avadāna-śataka, Avadāna-kalpaiaitā and several Chinese versions. The story is that a group of merchants sought help from Śiva, Varuṇa, Kubera, Vāyu, Agni, Skanda, Indra, Brahmā and so on, when they were made to face shipwreck by the monster, but it ended in vain, and they were rescued at last when they cried out *namo buddhāya*". However, Buddha is called Mahādeva (Ta-shēn) only in the Chinese version *Tsa-pi-yü-ching* (Sugimoto 1984:124-125). The convergence of Buddha and Mahādeva seems to be an early phenomenon, whose culmination can be seen in Harihara becoming Nīlakantha alias Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.

The Avataṁsaka-sūtra describes the earthly paradise of Avalokiteśvara: "Potalaka is on the sea-side in the south, it has woods, and streams, and tanks, and is in fact a sort of earthly paradise. Buddhabhadra (A.D. 420) calls Kuan-yin's mountain Kuang-ming (光明) or 'Brilliance', which is usually given as the rendering for Malaya, but a later translator, Śikṣānanda, transcribes the name Potalaka" (Watters 1905:2.231). Buddhabhadra's rendering of Potala is 'Brilliance'. It refers to its etymology: Tamil *pottu* (*potti-*) 'to light (as a fire)', Kota *pot-* (*poty-*) id., Kannada *pottu* n. 'flaming', *pottige* 'flaming, flame; Tulu *potta* 'hot, burning' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961:298 no.3691). In Kannada analogous words are: *pōttige* 'flaming, flame', *pōttisu* 'to cause to burn with flame, to kindle, to light', *pōttu* 'to begin to burn with flame, to be kindled, to catch fire, to flame', *pōttu* '1. flaming, 2. the sun, 3. time' (Kittel 1894:1020). In ancient times the magnificence of the temple of Avalokiteśvara must have been resplendent and dazzling to the devotees who reached it after negotiating inaccessible cliffs and ravines: a transcendence beyond forbidding barriers. Or better still brilliance refers to the makara-jyoti of Sabarimala.

Hsüan-tsang refers to Avalokiteśvara on the Potala in the following words (Beal 1884:

2.233): "To the east of the Malaya mountains in Mount Po-ta-lo-kia (Potalaka). The passes of this mountain are very dangerous; its sides are precipitous, and its valleys rugged. On the top of the mountain is a lake; its waters are clear as a mirror. From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain as it flows down twenty times and then enters the southern sea. By the side of the lake is a rock-palace of the Devas. Here Avalokiteśvara in coming and going takes his abode. Those who strongly desire to see this Bodhisattva do not regard their lives, but, crossing the water (fording the streams), climb the mountain forgetful of its difficulties and dangers; of those who make the attempt there are very few who reach the summit. But even of those who dwell below the mountain, if they earnestly pray and beg to behold the god, sometimes he appears as Tsz'-tsai-tjen (Iśvara-deva), sometimes under the form of a yogi (a Pāśupata); he addresses them with benevolent words and then they obtain their wishes according to their desires".

Watters (1905:2.229) summarises the above passage as follows: "In the south of the country near the sea was the Mo-lo-ya (Malaya) mountain, with lofty cliffs and ridges and deep valleys and gullies, on which were sandal, camphor and other trees. To the east of this was Pu-ta-lo-ka (Potalaka) mountain with steep narrow paths over its cliffs and gorges in irregular confusion; on the top was a lake of clear water, whence issued a river which, on its way to the sea, flowed twenty times round the mountain. By the side of the lake was a stone Deva-palace frequented by Kuan-tzu-tsai P'usa. Devotees, risking life, brave water and mountain to see the P'usa, but only a few succeed in reaching the shrine. To the people at the foot of the mountain who pray for a sight of the P'usa, he appears sometimes as a Pāśupata Tīrthika, or as Maheśvara, and consoles the suppliant with his answer"

Hsüan-tsang clearly says that Avalokiteśvara at Potala sometimes takes the form of Iśvara (Śiva) and sometimes that of a Pāśupata yogin. In fact it was Śiva who was metamorphosed into Avalokiteśvara. This is corroborated by various versions of Nila-kanthaka or the hymn to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, where the deity is addressed to as *āloka e*, which reminds of the Chinese rendering of Potalaka by Buddhabhadra as "Brilliance" (*āloka*). This may refer to the Lokeśvara at Potalaka. A spot once sanctified had to remain sacrosanct, even when externals underwent change. The image at Potalaka which was originally Śiva, was deemed to be Avalokiteśvara when Buddhism became dominant. The syncretistic tendencies of Śiva-Buddha were a pronounced phenomenon in Indonesia. The Dalai Lamas, the Rulers of Tibet, are reincarnations of the Avalokiteśvara who resides on the Potala. The palace of the Dalai Lamas at Lhasa is in fact designated Potala. The aspect of Avalokiteśvara as the Sovereign Head of State, stems from Viṣṇu. A king on earth is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara too was connected with the state. The Potalaka Lokeśvara and the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara have echoes of Śiva and Viṣṇu, of Hari and Hara.

The Avataṁsaka, Hsüan-tsang and the hymn to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara lead to the following facts:

- (i) Potalaka is a mountain on the southern coast of India.
- (ii) The mountain of Avalokiteśvara is *Kuang-ming* "Brilliance" in Buddhabhadra (A.D. 420). Śikṣānanda uses *Kuang-ming* for Potalaka.
- (iii) Śikṣānanda's translation of Potalaka as "brilliance" is supported by its meaning in Dravidian languages.
- (iv) Hsüan-tsang speaks of precipitous sides, rugged valleys, and dangerous mountain passes to Potalaka.
- (v) Avalokiteśvara takes his abode on Potalaka "in coming and going". Sometimes he appears as Maheśvara/Iśvara and at other times as a Paśupata yogin.
- (vi) The transformation of Nilakapīha/Maheśvara/Yogesvara, with alternating attributes of Hari-hara into the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara is evident in the hymn.

The aforesaid remind of Lord Ayyappa of Śabarimala, who could have been the Potala Lokeśvara of Buddhist literature. The makarajyoti of Śabarimala recalls Potala "brilliance". His characteristics as Hari-hara suggest Ayyappa who is Harihara-putra or a derivative deity of Harihara. The long, arduous and hazardous trek through areas known to be inhabited by elephants and other wild life to Śabarimala are spoken of in the pilgrimage to Potala Lokeśvara. The Buddhist character of Ayyappa is explicit in his mergence with Dharma-śāstā. Śāstā is a synonym of Lord Buddha.

Let us cite the legend of the sacred Śabarimala set deep in the hills and dales of Kerala where millions congregate every year to witness the miracle of LIGHT and to be blessed by Lord Ayyappa. Lovely jungles add to the serenity and sublimity of the Śabarimala. The pilgrims consider that heaven ceases to be heavenly if too accessible. Pilgrimage to Śabarimala was once considered the event of a lifetime and was looked forward to by devotees with pious anticipation.

*Stāmiye Saranam Ayyappa* "Oh Lord Ayyappa I seek refuge in and blessings from You" rend the air in the forests of Azhuta, Karimala, Neelimala and the surroundings of the river Pamba. This prayerful murmur becomes an echo and reverberates atop the Śabari hill, the abode of Lord Ayyappa in the Western Ghats of Kerala. These sacred words are on the lips of every one of over a million pilgrims who make an arduous journey to reach the top after negotiating through dense forests infested with wild animals. The ultimate goal of these devotees is to have the darshan of the Lord and witness the wonder miracle, the makara-jyoti or vilakku which appears on makara-saṅkrānti day every year. This astounding phenomenon appears in the horizon at dusk northeast of Śabari hills and glitters like a luminous star for many minutes to the wonderment of devotees who crowd to witness

the "jyoti" every year. *Sarayam* echoes and thunders as the faithful gather at the peak of Sabari Hill in the Western Ghats to witness this breath-taking miracle taking place before their astonished eyes. This incandescent light of unbelievable splendour emerges on the horizon. It glimmers there for many minutes, bright and luminous with the glow of countless stars. Then it disappears. Year after year this astounding phenomenon recurs on makara-saṅkrānti day. To view this wonder, and to worship at the shrine of Dharmasāstā, pilgrims endure an arduous trek over three hills and a river.

There are two explanations for the presence of this shrine crowning the hill—one explanation is mythological, the other historical.

Lord Ayyappa is called Hari-Hara-putra because of the union between Lord Śiva (Hara) and Lord Viṣṇu (Hari). This avatāra came into being because the demon Mahiṣa could only be killed by an offspring of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Lord Ayyappa, known as Dharmasāstā was left soon after his incarnation in the forests near the Pampa river. The infant was discovered by King Rājaśekhara of Pandalam and was raised as the king's own son. He was called Maṇikanṭha. When he was twelve years old, he was sent out on a terrifying and impossible mission. The queen hoping to get rid of him sent him to bring back milk from a leopard. Maṇikanṭha ventured into the forest and killed Mahiṣa. Then gathering leopards he mounted one and marched back to the city. The terrified king, realising the divinity of his adopted son, begged his forgiveness. Maṇikanṭha then asked the king to build him a temple at Sabarimala. When it was built, he merged with the idol and remains there to bless humanity until this day.

There is another legend. The region of Sabarimala was under the sway of a dacoit called Udayana. He destroyed the temple and killed the priest. The priest's son Jayanta vowed to kill Udayana. With grim determination he infiltrated the camp of Udayana. There he rescued the princess of Pandalam who was being held captive. Later he married her and the child born to them, they named Ayyappa. Ayyappa formed the army of the Raja of Pandalam as his commander-in-chief. The infamous warriors he vanquished became his trusted lieutenants. Ayyappa's army destroyed the dacoit's stronghold and killed him. Ayyappa then asked the king to rebuild the Sabarimala temple. On the day the temple was consecrated Ayyappa assumed the form of a jyoti and entering the innermost sanctum sanctorum merged with the idol of Dharmasāstā. From that day the Lord came to be known as Ayyappa.

Sacred hills of Sabarimala are a source of inspiration to the people of India. They stand as stalwart silent witnesses of faith and devotion, majestic and sublime. Monuments of wisdom, they are living legends of a rich and rare grandeur of the spirit that inspires us in our day and will do so for eternity.

## LOKANĀTHAS IN THE CAMBRIDGE MANUSCRIPT ADD. 1643 dated A.D. 1015

The Cambridge manuscript Add. 1643 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is dated N.S. 135 = A.D. 1015. It has miniature illustrations of 76 deities of whom 27 are those of Lokanātha from different geographic locations. All the illustrations bear captions. The words, Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara, are not used in any caption. Most of the depictions have two hands: right hand in varada and the left holds a red lotus. Where there are differences they have been noted. Likewise 4, 6 or 12 arms have also been specified.

- 4 Magadhe Kāpotaparvate Lokanāthah
- 6 Nepale Svayambhū-Lokanāthah
- 9 Magadhe Macchitivahī (read-vaṭī) Lokanāthah
- 19 Campitalā-Lokanāthah Samātāṭe
- 20 Sinhaladvīpe ārogaśālā (read ārogyaśāla?) Lokanāthah
- 21 Gandhāramandale Kūṭaparvate Lokanāthah
- 23 Suvarṇapure Śrī-Vijayapure Lokanātha (4 arms)
- 25 (Dakṣināpathe Mūl . . ?) pavāsa-Lokanātha (4 arms)
- 26 Kahtāhadvīpe (read Kaṭāha) Valavatīparvate Lokanāthah
- 27 Dakṣināpathe Mūlavāsa-Lokanāthah (4 arms)
- 28 Kahtāhadvīpe (read Kaṭāha) Valavatīparvate-Lokanātha
- 36 Dandabhuktai Yajñapindī Lokanāthah (4 arms)
- 38 Rāḍha-Vaittavanā-(read Vetravāṇa-) Lokanāthah
- 39 Bhṝtraka-valīya-(read balīyā?) Lokanāthah
- 40 Koṅkane Śivapure Sahasrabhujā-Lokanāthah (halo of arms)
- 41 Candratūra-Koṅkane Śrī-Khairavane Lokanāthah
- 42 Magadhe Jāruhe Punnavā (read puṇyavān?) Lokanāthah
- 44 Śrī-Nalendrāyāṁ Candragomīṇa (read-ṇo) Lokanāthah
- 45 Vandikoṭo (or Bandī) Lokanāthah (r.h. varada, l.h. mudra of meditation)
- 50 Varendrā-Tulākṣetra-Lokanāthah (12 arms)
- 54 Koratre Vedakoṭo Lokanāthah
- 55 Harikelladeśe Śila-Lokanāthah (6 arms)
- 57 Varendrā-Dedapura-Lokanāthah
- 59 Samataṭe Jayatuhga-Lokanātha
- 67 Varendrā-Haladi-Lokanāthah (12 arms)
- 69 Valīvatīkūṇa-Koṅkane Marṇpava-Lokanātha-caityah
- 73 Śrī-Patalake Lokanāthah (both hands in mudrā of teaching).

## LOKEŚVARAS IN THE CALCUTTA MANUSCRIPT A15 dated A.D. 1071

The palmleaf manuscript A15 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta illustrates 37 deities. It is dated NS 191 = A.D. 1071. It contains 8 illustrations of Lokeśvara, with his r.h. in varada and the l.h. with a red lotus. In no. 21 he is termed a Lokanātha. Variations in the attributes are noted below:

- 4 Nepale Vugama-Lokeśvarah
- 7 Macchatiavahti Lokeśvarah
- 9 Magadhe Kapotaparvata-Lokeśvarah
- 21 Campita-Lokanātha-Bhajitārakah
- 24 Kṛṣṇarayana-Lokeśvarah
- 25 Potalakaparvata-Lokeśvarah (r.h. on the knee, l.h. red lotus)
- 28 Simhaladvīpe Brogaśālā Lokeśvarah (r.h. mudra of argumentation, l.h. red lotus on knee)
- 36 Halahala-Lokeśvarah (6 arms).

## LOKEŚVARAS ETC. IN SĀDHANAMĀLĀ

In the *Sadhanamālā* three terms are used: Lokeśvara, Lokanātha and Avalokiteśvara. Fourteen *sādhanas* are devoted to Lokeśvaras:

- 7, 11 Śaḍakṣari-Lokeśvara
- 13, 24 Khaśarpaṇa Lokeśvara
- 19, 38 Lokeśvara
- 25 Simhanāda Lokeśvara
- 27 Halahala Lokeśvara
- 34 Hari-hari-vāhan-odbhava Lokeśvara
- 35, 36 Trailokya-vaśāmkara Lokeśvara
- 37 Rakta Lokeśvara
- 42 Sugati-sandarśana Lokeśvara
- 43 Preta-śantarpita Lokeśvara.

Lokanātha has two *sādhanas* (nos. 8 and 18). In both of them he holds a lotus in his left hand and his right is in varada. *Sādhana* 30 is devoted to Padmanarteśvara Lokanātha.

The colophons of three *sādhanas* have Avalokiteśvara:

- 16 Avalokiteśvara Khaśarpaṇa

- 39 Nilakaṇṭha āry-Āvalokiteśvara  
 40 Mayajala-krama āry-Āvalokiteśvara.

In the text of sādhana 16 he is termed a Lokeśvara and not Avalokiteśvara. In sādhana 39 he is called Nilakaṇṭha without any epithet. Only sādhana 40 has āry-Āvalokiteśvara in the text.

### HYMN TO 108 LOKEŚVARAS

This hymn shows the dynamism and continuity of the assimilative process. The word Lokeśvara bore a generic connotation of popular deities adapted into the Buddhist pantheon including deities from the highly developed pantheon of maṇḍalas. This is clear from the Hymn to 108 Lokeśvaras, which is extant in several manuscripts. Eight manuscripts of the 108 Lokeśvaras have been used in the present analysis. The first ms. M is from the RaghuVira collection of the International Academy of Indian Culture. The other seven are from private collections in Kathmandu microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscripts Preservation Project in 1977. Their reel numbers are cited below:

- M RaghuVira manuscript
- A H 191/5 (nos. 11-21 of the enlarged photographs)
- B E 1200/3 (nos. 22-30 of the enlarged photographs)
- C E 1399/9 (nos. 31-39 of the enlarged photographs)
- D E 1079/20 (nos. 40-47 of the enlarged photographs)
- E E 1059/3 (nos. 48-62 of the enlarged photographs)
- F E 277/61 (nos. 63-67 of the enlarged photographs)
- G E 127/24 (no. 68 of the enlarged photographs).

The names of 108 Lokeśvaras in the RaghuVira manuscript (M) are cited below. They have been corrected after comparison with other manuscripts.

M 1 ĀryĀvalokiteśvara L.	M 2 Vajranātha L.
3 Vajrapāṇi L.	4 Padmapāṇi L.
5 Nityanātha L.	6 Śaṅkhanātha L.
7 Vajrahetu L. (A Vajrasphoṭa)	8 Kṛtaffjali L.
9 Vajroṣṇīṣa L.	10 Śivakanta L. (A 10, cf. no.30)
11 Viṣṇu L. (A 9)	12 Uṣṇīṣa L. (A Uṣṇīṣanātha L.)
13 Mañjudatta L. (A Mañjunatha L.)	14 Cintāmanī L.
15 Jñānadhattu L.	16 Śākyadhattu L.
17 Vajradhātu L.	18 Mañjubhūta L.
19 Viśvabhrūta L.	20 Sukhīvatī L.

- |      |                                     |    |  |
|------|-------------------------------------|----|--|
| M 21 | Supraśārtha ? L.                    | 22 | ... Sārvavāha L.                       |
| 23   | Jñānamūḍhāri L.                     | 24 | Mahāvajrasattva L. (A Mahāvajra L.)    |
| 25   | Śimhanātha L.                       | 26 | Harihara L.                            |
| 27   | Dharmacakra L.                      | 28 | Ṣaḍakṣari L.                           |
| 29   | Sarasirī L.                         | 30 | Śrītikānta L. (cf. no.10)              |
| 31   | Brahmadatta L.                      | 32 | Amoghapāśa L. (see no.36)              |
| 33   | Vasanta L.                          | 34 | Kamalavādha? L. (is it Kamalarudra L.) |
| 35   | Brahmādideva L.                     | 36 | Amoghapāśa L. (see no.32)              |
| 37   | Kramacandra L.                      | 38 | Karajali? L.                           |
| 39   | Lamādi L. (is it Amitābha L.)       | 40 | Bindupātra L.                          |
| 41   | Indrapātra L. (is it Piṇḍapātra L.) | 42 | Nilakṛṣṇa? L.                          |
| 43   | Śrimanta L.                         | 44 | Śrayanna L.                            |
| 45   | Lokanātha L.                        | 46 | Padmanātya L.                          |
| 47   | Potalake Suvarṇa-Śaṅkara L.         | 48 | Varada L.                              |
| 49   | Nilakaṇṭha L.                       | 50 | Māyājīla L.                            |
| 51   | Dharati L.                          | 52 | Dharmaśāṁkara L.                       |
| 53   | Abhayaśāṁkara L. (Mahā)             | 54 | Nityayacana? L.                        |
| 55   | Ratnapāṇi L.                        | 56 | Sugatī-darśana L.                      |
| 57   | Pretagati L.                        | 58 | Gandhabibhu L. (A Gandhacitta L.)      |
| 59   | Karu[ṇā]vatara L.                   | 60 | Vilaficitu? L.                         |
| 61   | Sārvavāha L.                        | 62 | Kāntinavatāra? L.                      |
| 63   | Jogācata? L.                        | 64 | Candravarpa L.                         |
| 65   | Suryavarpa L.                       | 66 | Ganganagañja L.                        |
| 67   | Ānanda L.                           | 68 | Indragati L.                           |
| 69   | Sāgaragambhīra L.                   | 70 | Śimhavijyambhita L.                    |
| 71   | Śimha-vikriḍita L.                  | 72 | Śatavaradāyaka L.                      |
| 73   | Avicisainśodhana L.                 | 74 | Ratnaviṣṭi L.                          |
| 75   | Sanadaśa? L.                        | 76 | Vajrāśana L.                           |
| 77   | Guhyagupta L.                       | 78 | Ākāśagarbha L.                         |
| 79   | Meghapati L.                        | 80 | Atikṣiptadhūpa L.                      |
| 81   | Aśvatthahasta L.                    | 82 | Sarva-nīvarapa-viśkambhī L.            |
| 83   | Bhaiṣajyeśvara L.                   | 84 | Sāgaramati L.                          |
| 85   | Susukha L. (A Somukha L.)           | 86 | Ratnakirtti L. = Mahā-Śaktavīra        |
| 87   | Śaṅkara-vihāra? L.                  | 88 | Hayagrīva L.                           |
| 89   | Varḍhamukha L.                      | 90 | Dadi Viśvanātha L.                     |

M 91	Saptamukha L.	92	Mahāpratyangirā L.
93	Jalabindu L.	94	Dharmapīṭha L. = Dharmadhātu L.
95	Padmalaṅkara ? L.	96	Dhācupūjā L.
97	Candravīra L. = Candraprabha L.	98	Vajramukuṭī L. (cf. S97 Jatāmukuta L.)
99	Dharmarāja L.	100	Dundubhi L.
101	Rśipuṇḍgava L.	102	Daśabhūmi L.
103	Sarvajītaśīla L.	104	Dhvajāgra L. (A Dhvajāgra-keyora L.) = Acalaketu L.
105	Nityanātha L. = Nṛtyanātha L.	106	Ādibuddha L. = Śākyabuddha L.
107	Vajrasahaṣṭra L. (A Vajraśastra L.)	108	Nāmasaṅgīti L.

Avalokiteśvara was the prime among Lokēśvaras, and as such he is the first Lokēśvara to be invoked in the hymn. Vajranātha (M2) follows as the second Lokēśvara: he symbolises Vajrayāna. Other names ending with nātha are Nityanātha (M5), Nṛtyanātha (M105), Śāṅkhānātha (M6), Śīrshānātha/Sīrshānāda (M25), Lokanātha (M45) and Viśvanātha (M90). The word Nātha, which refers to Śiva or Mahākāla, recalls other Śaiva deities among the 108 Lokēśvara: Harihara L. (M26), Nilakaṇṭha L. (M49), Jatāmukuta L. (S97, but Vajramukuṭī L. in M98), Halāhala L. (S107). Sahasrabhuja L. is illustrated twice (S52, S54) among the 108 Lokēśvaras. Pateloke suvarpaśāṁśara L. (M47) is Potalake Suvarṇa-Śāṅkara. Śivakānta L. and Viśṇukānta L. (M10, 11), and Śrṣṭikānta L. are interesting forms. Six names end in dhātu jñānadhātu L. (M15), Śākyadhātu L. (M16), Vajradhātu L. (M17), Dharmadhātu L. (S25), Mahāvajradhātu (S41), Vajrasattva-dhātu (S17). Uṣṇīṣa L. (M12) and Vajroṣṇīṣa L. (M9) are the only two uṣṇīṣa deities. The sun and moon are represented by Candravarṇa L. (M64), Sūryavarna L. (M65), Mahācandrabbimba L. (S47), Mahāśūryabimba L. (S46), Candraprabha (S66 = Candravīra M97), and Mahāsaḥasrasūrya (S51). Vajrapāṇi L. (M3) and Padmapāṇi L. (M4) are the two acolytes of Vairocana in the Garbhadrhātu maṇḍala. Some Lokēśvaras are from the Garbhadrhātu maṇḍala: 27 Mahāsthāmaprīpta (S65), 8 Avalokiteśvara (S64), 32 Hayagrīva (M88), 92 Ākāśagarbha (M78), 142 Jālinīprabha (S67), 145 Candraprabha (S66), 156 Kṣitigarbha (S58), 157 Ratnapāṇi (M55), 163 Abhayaīndada (M59 Mahā-abhayaīṅkara), 165 Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin (M82), 166 Karuṇāmṛditamati (M 59 Karuṇāvatāra L.), 169 Acintyamatidatta (S 83 Acintya L.). From the Vajradhātu maṇḍala the following deities can be seen in the 108 Lokēśvaras: 422 Vajradharma (S86), 424 Vajrahetu (M7), 441 Vajrasphota (S5), 505 Aksayamatī (S55), 506 Pratibhānakūṭa (S 69), 507 Vajragarbha (S63), 512 Sarvaśoka-tamo-nirghātana (S70), 514 Gaganagañja (M66). Māyājāla L. (M50) and Nāmasaṅgīti L. (M108) are from other texts. There is even a Pitapaṭṭa L. (S101) who reminds us of Pīṭāmbara Kṛṣṇa. In the several manuscripts of the hymn variant readings abound,

sequence of names differs among them, quite often new names replace the existing ones: for instance, manuscript A has new names: Dharmākara L. (31), Aṣṭabhuja L. (33), Aṣṭāṅga L. (34), Trailokya-suvarṇa-Śaṅkara (47), and Rakta L. (48). The whole hymn is an eclectic anthology of popular deities. It clearly shows that Lokeśvara is a common noun and not the proper name of a deity or of deities.

The foregoing evidence shows that Avalokiteśvara was an instrument of assimilating popular deities into the Buddhist pantheon. Avalokiteśvara welcomed incoming deities by uttering hymns to them and thereby they were integrated in Buddhist ritual. In the earlier stages it was clearly stated that Avalokiteśvara is the locutor of the hymn. The process ended by obliterating the separate identity of the entrant deity in steps: the portion of the hymn wherein Avalokiteśvara was the speaker was muddled and messed up by slurring over words and muffled by omitting the crucial expression *bhāṣita*, *mukhodgīrṇa* or the like. This simplified the followup step to convert the new folk deity/lokeśvara into a form of Avalokiteśvara. Deliberate confusion became a designed fusion. Assimilation was complete. A systematic Buddhist philosophy of assimilation was at work: "The *konji-suijaku* theory is described as the philosophy by which the native Japanese gods are believed to be manifestations of Buddhas or bodhisattvas in order to save sentient beings and lead them to Enlightenment". She goes on to say that "the practice of absorbing native gods and various other rites into Buddhism began in India. . . . It was in the frame-work of this early philosophy that the Buddhist theory of assimilation had its origin" (Matsunaga 1969: 2, 3).

*Intensification of the process of assimilation in China.* In China, the process of assimilation went much further, due its peculiar linguistic sensibilities. In the Sino-Japanese tradition several deities converged into Avalokiteśvara, as he became a convenient determinative in East Asian iconography. Avalokiteśvara served the same function as classifiers do in the Chinese language which indicate the sphere of the meaning of the word. This may be illustrated by the use of additives in Chinese, for example, the addition of an explanatory *k'an* and supplementary *k'ou* in the following sentence (Karlgren 1949:56):

<i>wo</i>	<i>k'an</i>	<i>chien</i>	<i>liang</i>	<i>k'ou</i>	<i>jēn</i>
I	look	see	two	mouth	man
				item	person

The existence of binomes like *k'an chien* in the spoken language of China had given rise to

mental habits which necessitated clarificatory elements. In the same manner, any new deity could become comprehensible as a Kuan-yin/Avalokiteśvara. Even goddesses like Cundī were classified as Avalokiteśvara. Among the Thirtythree Kuan-yin one finds the goddesses Pāṇḍaravāsinī, Parṇaśabari, Tārā, wife of Ma-lang, besides several other deities. Just as a Chinese character is composed of an ideographic half and a phonetic half, the classifier Kuan-yin provided a familiar semantic context and was in perfect accord with the logic of the Chinese language and its ideographic space. A number of deities were thus lumped under Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara) in East Asia. Avalokiteśvara became a theogonic semanteme, as is clear from the Six Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara) and the Thirtythree manifestations of Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara).

## SIX KUAN-YIN/AVALOKITEŚVARAS

The Six Kuan-yin/Avalokiteśvaras worshipped in Japan and Korea are:

1. Ārya Avalokiteśvara (Sheng-Kuan-yin, Jap. Shō-Kannon) 空觀音
2. Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara (Ekādaśamukha, Shih-i-mien Kuan-yin, Jap. Jūichimen Kannon) 十一面觀音
3. Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara (Sahasrabhuja, Ch'ien-shou Kuan-yin, Jap. Senju Kannon) 千手觀音
4. Horse-headed Avalokiteśvara (Hayagrīva, Ma-t'ou Kuan-yin, Jap. Batō Kannon) 馬頭觀音
5. Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara (Ju-i-lun Kuan-yin, Jap. Nyoirin Kannon) 如意輪觀音
6. Cundī Avalokiteśvara (Chun-t'i Kuan-yin, Jap. Juntei Kannon) 憨慢觀音

They are mentioned for the first time in Japan in Ono sōjō Ninkai's work *Chūshimmon* written in A.D.1023, where they appear in the six realms of existence (Matsunaga 1969: 122):

Sahastra-bhuja	pretas
Ārya-Avalokiteśvara	inhabitants of hells
Hayagrīva	animals
Ekādaśamukha	asuras
Cundī	men
Cintāmaṇi-cakra	devas

The carving of these Six Avalokiteśvaras became popular when Fujiwara Michinaga dedicated them in 1024. The number 'six' may be due to the *sadakṣarī* *vidyā* or six-syllabled mantra of Avalokiteśvara. Ārya-Avalokiteśvara is the original form of the bodhi-

sattva, whose concept is based on the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* and popularised by the *Lotus Sutra*. The other changed-forms (*Ying-hua shen*) must have been incorporated as a hexad in China. The *Ekādaśamukha* is based on the *Shih-i-mien-kuan-shih-yin shen-chou-ching* translated by Yaśogupta during A.D.564-572 (Nj 327, T 1070, K309). The first image of the *Sahastra-bhuja* was pointed by an Indian monk Ch'ü-to-t'i-p'o who presented it to the T'ang Emperor in A.D. 618-626. The basis of the worship of *Cundī* is her *dhāraṇī* translated by Divākara in A.D. 685 (Nj 344, T 1077, K314). *Cintāmaṇicakra* appears in Japan as early as A.D.605. His *dhāraṇī* was translated by Bodhiruci in A.D.709 (Nj 324, T 1080, K298). *Hayagrīva* is mentioned in the *Mahāvairocana-śūtra* which was translated into Chinese in A.D.724. The emergence of the Six *Avalokiteśvaras* in China may thus be placed in the beginning of the eighth century.

#### THE THIRTYTHREE MANIFESTATIONS OF KUAN-YIN/AVALOKITEŚVARA

In China, Korea and Japan, the thirtythree manifestations of Kuan-yin/Avalokiteśvara (Matsunaga 1969:129-135) are as follows:

- 1 Kuan-yin who holds a willow branch (楊柳觀音)
- 2 Dragon-head Kuan-yin (龍頭觀音)
- 3 Kuan-yin who holds the sūtras (持經觀音)
- 4 Kuan-yin of complete light (圓光觀音)
- 5 Kuan-yin of enjoyment (遊戲觀音)
- 6 White-Robed Kuan-yin (*Pāndaravāsinī*) 白衣觀音
- 7 Kuan-yin who sits on a lotus leaf (蓮座觀音)
- 8 Kuan-yin who views waterfalls (遙見觀音)
- 9 Kuan-yin who gives medicine (施藥觀音)
- 10 Kuan-yin of the fish basket (魚籃觀音)
- 11 Kuan-yin as king of merit (德王觀音)
- 12 Kuan-yin of moon and water (水月觀音)

- 13 One-leaf Kuan-yin (一葉觀音)
- 14 Blue-throat Kuan-yin (Nilakaṇṭha) 青頸觀音
- 15 Kuan-yin of power and virtue (威德觀音)
- 16 Kuan-yin to extend life (延命觀音)
- 17 Kuan-yin of various treasures (衆寶觀音)
- 18 Kuan-yin of the rock cave (岩戶觀音)
- 19 Kuan-yin who calms (能靜觀音)
- 20 Anavatapta Kuan-yin (阿怙覩觀音)
- 21 Kuan-yin of fearlessness (阿摩提觀音)
- 22 Leaves-Robe Kuan-yin (Parṇaśabari) 葉衣觀音
- 23 Vaidūrya Kuan-yin (瑠璃觀音)
- 24 Tārā Kuan-yin 多羅觀音
- 25 Kuan-yin of the clam (蛤蜊觀音)
- 26 Kuan-yin of six hours (六時觀音)
- 27 Kuan-yin of universal compassion (普慈觀音)
- 28 Kuan-yin called the wife of Ma-Lang (馬郎婦觀音)
- 29 Kuan-yin of prayer/añjali (合掌觀音)
- 30 Kuan-yin of oneness (一如觀音)
- 31 Kuan-yin of non-duality (advaya) (不二觀音)
- 32 Kuan-yin holding a lotus (持蓮華觀音)
- 33 Kuan-yin of pure water (潔水觀音)

The popular cults of various folk deities converged into Kuan-yin/Avalokiteśvara as his manifestations. In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka a general conception of 33 manifestations had developed. During the Sui (A.D.581-618) and T'ang (A.D.618-907) dynasties this evolved into a popular cult of the Thirtythree Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara. This cult thrived in China as it could assimilate deities that enjoyed individual popularity in various districts and that served special interests. Some manifestations are based on canonised Chinese individuals. Kuan-yin of the fish basket "is based upon the legend of a Ch'an believer and his daughter Ling-chao, who was believed to be a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, and carried a bamboo basket" (Matsunaga 1969:131). So also the Kuan-yin called the wife of Ma-Lang: "Once about the year 817 of the T'ang dynasty there was a beautiful girl living in the countryside who was sought after for marriage by all the eligible young men. At that time, to eliminate some of the competition, she set forth the requirement that she would marry the man who could memorize the Kuan-yin chapter of the Lotus Sutra within one night. The next morning twenty men appeared who had complied with her command, so once again she set forth a new requirement, this time to learn the Chin-kang-ching (Vajracchedikā) by the next morning. The number of eligible young men was cut down to ten, but it was still far too many, so she set forth a final requirement that she would marry the man who could memorize the entire Lotus Sutra within the period of three days. Only a young man named Ma-Lang was able to accomplish this feat, so a marriage was planned. Just as the marriage ceremony was about to begin, the young girl suddenly fell ill and died. Shortly after she was buried an old priest visited the house of Ma-Lang and suggested that the girl's grave be opened. When this was done, they found in her coffin only golden pieces of bone. The old monk then explained that she had been a saint to lead others to salvation and was a manifestation of Kuan-yin. Upon saying this the priest promptly vanished. From this time forth the people of that district became devoted to Kuan-yin" (Matsunaga 1969:133-134).

Two Kuan-yin go back to the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra: One-leaf Kuan-yin (no.13) and Kuan-yin of Various Treasures (no.17). "Floating on the water upon a single leaf, One-leaf Kuan-yin enjoys meditation and protects those who fall into the depths of the ocean as promised in the Lotus Sutra" (ib.131). The Kuan-yin of Various Treasures is "based upon the story in the Lotus Sutra where it is promised if a group sailing in the ocean should lose all their treasures, and during a gale be cast upon an island of Giantesses, if a single one of them should invoke Avalokiteśvara, all will be saved" (ib.132).

The White-robed Kuan-yin = Pāṇḍaravāṇī is an independent goddess (*mātrikā, mu*) from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra translated into Chinese in A.D.725 (T 848, K 427). The Blue-throat Kuan-yin (no.14) is Nilakantha whose sūtra was done into Chinese for the first

time by Chih-t'ung in A.D.627-649 (K 292). The Leaf-robe Kuan-yin (no.22) is the goddess Parṇaśabari whose sūtra was translated by Amoghavajra during A.D.720-774 (T 1100, K 1305). The Vaiḍūrya Kuan-yin (no.23) is from the Vaiḍūrya-prabha-rāja-sūtra (T 513, K 787) translated by Dharmarakṣa between the years A.D.266-313. Tārā Kuan-yin comes from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra.

The 38 forms of Kuan-yin in China confirm that assimilation of Indian and indigenous deities and beliefs into Kuan-yin was a continuing process. The incorporation of Buddhist goddesses (*fo-mu* or Buddhist mātṛkā) into Kuan-yin and the natural propensity of women towards the feminine forms, not to speak of several other factors, led to Kuan-yin in female form becoming dominant in China. In fact Kuan-yin/Avalokiteśvara in his assimilative capacity was a Lokeśvara, a generic term, a pan-Buddhist divinity which accommodated any number of deities in popular worship.

## CHAPTER 4

### ICONOGRAPHY OF THE THOUSAND-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA

Avalokiteśvara with a thousand arms was first painted in China by an Indian monk Ch'u-to-t'i-p'o who presented it to the T'ang Emperor in A.D. 618-626 (Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 3.2976, Matsunaga 1969:124). It was followed by translations of texts on Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara by Chih-t'ung in 627-649, by Bhagavaddharma in 650-661, by Bodhiruci in 709, by Vajrabodhi in 731-736, and by Amoghavajra in 723. Ever since Ch'ien-shou Kuan-yin (Chinese), Senjū Kannon (Japanese) has dominated the religious landscape of East Asia. He is believed to have a thousand hands to save especially pretas (Jap. gaki) or hungry spirits or ghosts (JEBI 264a). C.N. Tay (Kuan-yin: the cult of half Asia, *History of Religions* 16.171) says that "Kuan-yin is represented in the Lotus Sutra by the "Universal Door," and in esoteric Buddhism with 1,000 hands and an eye in each hand to help all and illuminate all with the light of wisdom. The great compassion and great wisdom of Kuan-yin are here symbolized".

"Avalokiteśvara is sometimes represented with one thousand arms, each holding a different instrument. If his mind "stops" with the use, for instance, of a bow, all the other arms, 999 in number, will be of no use whatever. It is only because of his mind not "stopping" with the use of one arm but moving from one instrument to another that all his arms prove useful with the utmost degree of efficiency. Even Kwannon cannot be expected to equip himself with one thousand arms on one body. The figure is meant to demonstrate that, when Prajñā Immovable is realized, even as many as one thousand arms on one body may each and all be serviceable in one way or another" (Suzuki 1960:98).

Though no image of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara has been found in India and no Sanskrit text survives, He must have existed in India. His first painting in China was done by an Indian monk as early as A.D. 618-626. All the Chinese texts on Him are translations from Sanskrit and contain Sanskrit hymns in transliteration. A thousand limbs are integral to the Indian tradition. They commence the famous Puruṣa-sūkta of the Rgveda 10.90, wherein the universal Puruṣa has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara is called thousand-eyed (ch'ien-yen), thousand-shouldered (ch'ien-pi) and thousand-light (ch'ien-kuang) (Matsunaga 1969:124 n.70).

Thousand-armed is a common attribute from the Rgveda downwards. Sahasra-bahu occurs in Rgveda 8.45.26, it begins the hymn of Atharvaveda 19.6, Mantra-brähmaṇa. It is the name of Śiva in the Mahābhārata. In the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha, Viṣṇu is Sahasrabhuja.

*Yājñavalkya* 3.119 has the adjective *sahasra-kara-paṇ-netra* 'having a thousand hands, feet and eyes'. The Śabda-kalpadruma cites Sahastrabhuja from the Devī-māhātmya where the Goddess is thousand-armed. Kārtavīryārjuna, a renowned king of the Hehaya dynasty, had a thousand hands by a boon from sage Dattatreyā (Mani 1975:394). In the family feuds that ensued Saḥasrārjuna could not stand the might of Paraśūrāma who axed each one of his thousand arms. Sahasrabāhu is the name of a warrior of Subrahmanyā in the Mahābhārata (Śalyaparvan 45.59, Mani 1975:665). In Javanese, Sasraboja (= Sahastrabhuja) is equal to Saṣrabau (= Sahasrabāhu) who is Arjuna-vijaya. In Java, Devi Setyavati dreams about a beautiful prince Dasabahu. Immediately after that an envoy comes from him and requests for a meeting on behalf of Dasabahu. Dasabahu, of course, is the same as Arjuna-vijaya. She agrees to marry him if he can find her out from a hundred statues. The king succeeds in this and the first union takes place even before the svayamvara, the ceremony of selection of the husband. After this the ceremony takes place and it is possible for Daṣaboja, so called because of his ten arms, to win the princess but only after he has fought a terrible battle during which he becomes Sasraboja or thousand-armed (Stutterheim 1987:72). In Javanese theatre, to win a bride the groom has to defeat *pararatu setu*, a thousand kings. Do the thousand hands of Avalokiteśvara represent his victory over Śiva whose name Iṣvara he appropriates? Thus He can symbolise the ascendance of Buddhism over Śaivism. He anticipates Trailokyavijaya of the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha. In its second section Vajrapāṇi vanquishes Mahādeva who offers his own body, his body of Mahādeva, to the feet of Vajrapāṇi, and becomes the Tathāgata Bhasmeśvara-nirghoṣa (Tucci 1987:145). Mahādeva is reduced to being the Lord of Ashes and the consolation is that he is a Tathāgata.

The thousand hands, depicted as an aureole in the background of the figure, are symbolic of the measureless skillful means exerted by the bodhisattva to save sentient beings. Generally in the iconographic forms the figure is depicted with twenty hands on both the right and left sides, exclusive of the two main hands. It is believed that each of these twenty hands works for sentient beings in the twentyfive realms of existence. In this manner the symbolic number of one thousand ( $40 \times 25$ ) hands is obtained.

On the palm of every hand is an eye: thus He has a thousand eyes. Indra is termed *sahasra-cakṣus* 'thousand-eyed' in R̥gveda 2.135, Varāhamihira's Br̥hat-saṃhitā 43.58. Atharvaveda 4.20.5 has the vocative *sahasracakṣo*. Viṣṇu is *sahasradṛśi* in Rāmāyaṇa 6.102.22, and Indra in the Mahābhārata 3.670, 14.2444. Indra is *sahasra-netra* 'thousand-eyed' in the Mahābhārata 1.7706, 13.6045, Raghuvamśa 6.23. Prof. Goto Daiyu (*Kanzeon Bosatsu no kenkyū*, Tokyo: Sankibo, 1958:134) believes that the thousand eyes are related to Indra and his well-known seduction of Ahalyā, wife of Gautama for which the

husband's curse brought out a thousand female organs upon his body that later changed, due to Indra's virtuous deeds, into a thousand eyes. The thousand-eyed Viṣṇu is wisdom or vision a thousandfold.

The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara with eleven heads is the most popular form. The number of heads increases to twentyfive, and sometimes the crown bears upto five hundred heads (Matsunaga 1969:124).

Matsunaga (1969:125) holds that "From the date of the earliest Chinese transmission, we can imagine the deity must have been developed in Central Asia prior to the beginning of the seventh century or thereabouts". Bhagavaddharma whose text forms the Vulgate Version came from western India, though he accomplished the Chinese translation at Khotan. There is no indication of the presence of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara in Central Asia, except late at Tun-huang in the ninth century as a part of Chinese Buddhism. The earliest painting of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara from Tun-huang is dated A.D. 836 (Karmay 1975:11 fig. 4, Waley 1931:53 Stein 32), which is far later than the translation of sūtras on the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. Puruṣa, Indra, Śiva and Viṣṇu have a thousand eyes while Śiva and Arjuna are attributed a thousand arms. The Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara at Kanheri is a positive indication that the concept of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara originated and gained popularity in India itself, before its transmission to other countries.

Forty hands stand for the full number of a thousand in the translation of Amoghavajra (T 1064), who provides forty dhāraṇīs, one dhāraṇī for each hand. Each hand saves from a particular trouble and can be invoked by the sufferer. Each hand is characterised by a distinguishing symbol or a specific mudrā. Thus the sundisk (sūrya-maṇi) cures a blind eye. The application of moon-disk (candra-maṇi): if one suffers from fever and looks for coolness, one should employ this hand.

The forty hands are as follows in Tun-huang painting Stein 35 as described by Waley (1931:57), and corrected in accordance with Amoghavajra T 1064.

Right	Left
(1) palace	(2) emanated Buddha
(3) white fly-whisk/camarī	(4) cakra/wheel
(5) blue lotus/utpala	(6) white lotus
(7) sun disk	(8) moon disk
(9) mirror	(10) three-pronged vajra
(11) khaṭvāṅga	(12) purple lotus
(13) axe	(14) aṅkuṣa
(15) book	(16) casket for sūtras

Right	Left
(17) cloud	(18) spear
(19) mendicant's staff	(20) bow
(21) one-pronged vajra	(22) noose/pāśa
(23) bell	(24) jade ring
(25) rosary	(26) willow-spray
(27) grapes	(28) arrow
(29) cintāmaṇi gem	(30) conch
(31) staff	(32) sword
(33) kundikā/water-pot	(34) kalaṣa/vase
(35) abhaya-mudrā	(36) abhaya-mudrā
(37) varada-mudrā	(38) varada-mudrā
(39) dhyāna-mudrā (holding bowl)	(40) dhyāna-mudrā (holding bowl)

The characteristics of the forty hands differ in various representations, both in their sequence as well as in the objects held in the hands. The staff, no. 31 in Waley's list above, cannot be found in Amoghavajra's dhāraṇī (T 1064) where 42 hands are illustrated. Likewise, the alms-bowl/pātra (Am 3), shield (Am 15), red lotus (Am 25), seal (Am 31), emanated Uṣṇiṣa-Buddha (Am 39) are not to be seen in Waley's identification of the Stein 35 painting. The characteristics of the 40 hands in Waley and Amoghavajra are listed below in alphabetic sequence for ready reference:

abhaya mudrā W 35-36 (both hands)	Am 7 (one hand)	alms bowl/pātra Am 3
añjali mudrā W 0, Am 34		añkuṣa/Jap.kushi W 14, Am 32
arrow/bāṇa W 28, Am 11		axe/parasu W 13, Am 16
bell W 23, Am 30		blue lotus/utpala W 5, Am 19
bohai? Am 15		book/sūtra W 15, Am 37
bow/dhanus W 18, Am 10		Buddha, emanated/Jap. kebutsu W 2, Am 35
Buddha, emanated uṣṇiṣa. Am 39		cakra/wheel W 4, Am 38
casket W 66, Am 22		cintāmaṇi gem W 29, Am 1
cloud W 17, Am 23 (five-coloured cloud)		conch W 30, Am 27
dhyāna-mudrā (clasping bowl) W 39-40, Am 42		fly-whisk, white/camarī W 3, Am 13
grapes W 27, Am 40 (amalaka in the dhāraṇī)		jade ring W 24, Am 17
harpoon = añkuṣa		kalaṣa/vase W 34, Am 14
khaṭvāṅga/skull stick W 11, Am 28		kundikā/water-pot W 33, Am 24 (kuṇḍī)
lotus, see blue l., purple l., red l., white l.		mendicant's staff W 19, Am 33

mirror W 9, Am 20  
 palace, emanated W 1, Am 36  
 purple lotus W 62, Am 21  
 rosary W 25, Am 29  
 skull-stick = khatvanga  
 staff W 31  
 sword/khaḍga W 32, Am 4  
 trident (W 10) = three-pronged vajra  
 vajra, one-pronged W 21, Am 6

white lotus/puṇḍarīka W 6, Am 18

The 40 hands as illustrated in Amoghavajra's dhāraṇī (T 1064) are reproduced below in the sequence of serial numbers given in the text itself. The dhāraṇī of each hand has been reconstructed into Sanskrit from its Chinese transliteration:

moon disk/candra-mani W 8, Am 9  
 paśa W 22, Am 2  
 red lotus Am 25  
 seal Am 31  
 spear/kunta W 18, Am 26  
 sun-disk (sūrya-mani) W 7, Am 8  
 treasure-box = casket  
 vajra, three-pronged W 10, Am 5  
 varada mudrā W 37-38 (both hands)  
 Am 41 (one hand)  
 willow spray W 26, Am 12



- 1 cintāmaṇi: om vajravatara hūm phat
- 2 paśa: om kilikili moda hūm phat
- 3 pātra: om kilikili vajra hūm phat
- 4 khaḍga: om teje tejavati vinitude sādhaya hūm phat
- 5 three-pronged vajra: om divye-divye divya-mahāśriyai svāhā
- 6 one-pronged vajra: om vajrāgre pradīptāya svālinī
- 7 abhaya: om abhaya hūm phat
- 8 sūryamani: om dūpikaya dūpi pravaridi svāhā
- 9 candramāṇi: om ṣaśidhṛk svāhā

10 dhanur: om acavite svāhā



11 bāpa: om kamala svāhā

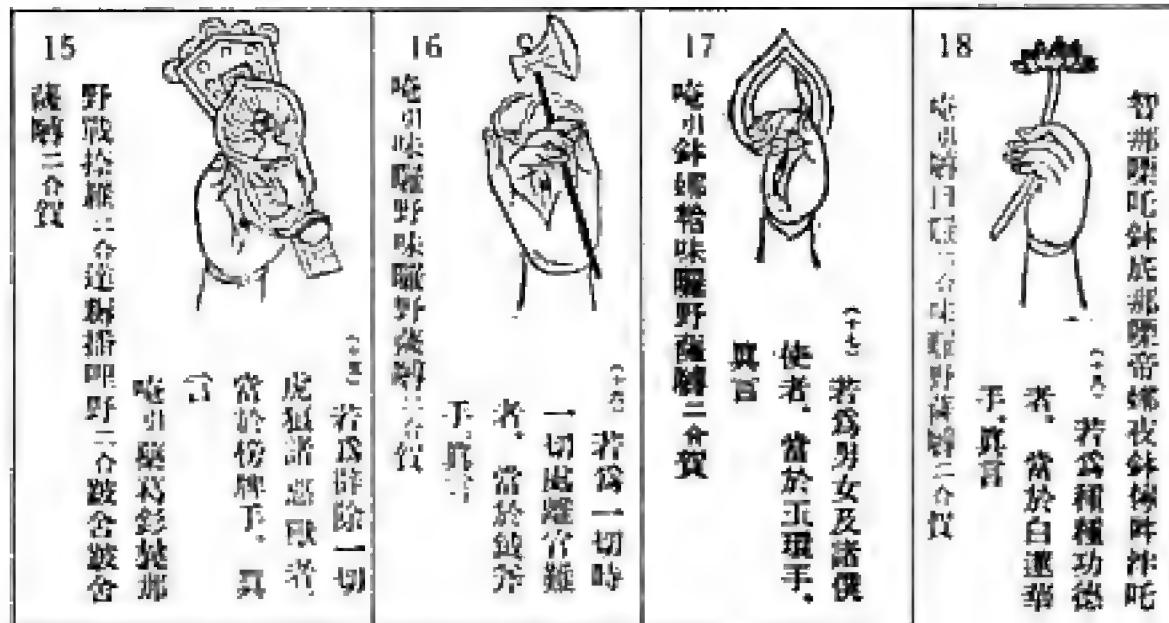
12 willow spray: om susiddhikari varitanām tamukraye vajravajra bandha hana hana hum phaṭ

13 camarī: om padmini bhagavati mohaya jagamohani svāhā

14 kalaśa: om grīm samayam svāhā

15 bohai (? , Japanese word): om yakṣam na nāyacandrahanuparya pāsa pāsa svāhā





16 paraśu: om̄ virāya virāya svāhā

17 jade ring: om̄ padmam̄ virāya svāhā

18 puñḍarīka: om̄ vajravirāya svāhā



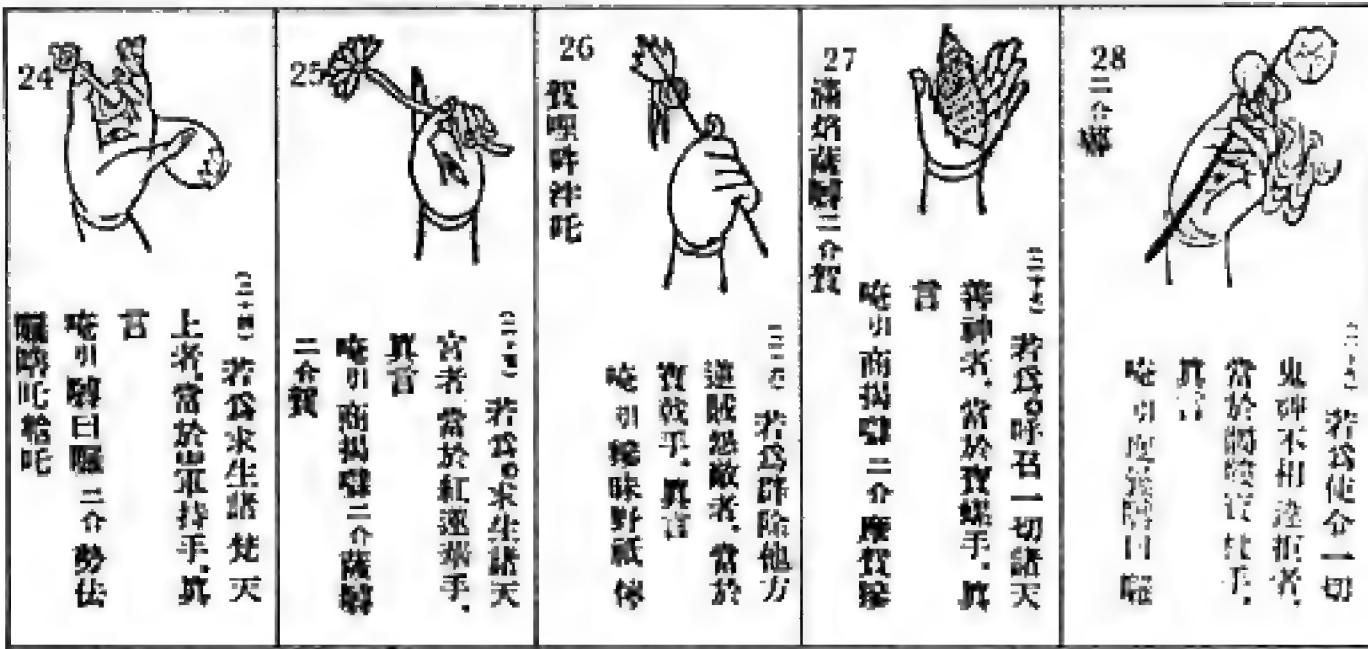
19 utpala (blue lotus): om̄ kilikili vajrabhūr bandha hūm̄ phaṭ

20 darpaṇa (mirror): om̄ visphurad rakṣa vajramāṇḍala hūm̄ phat

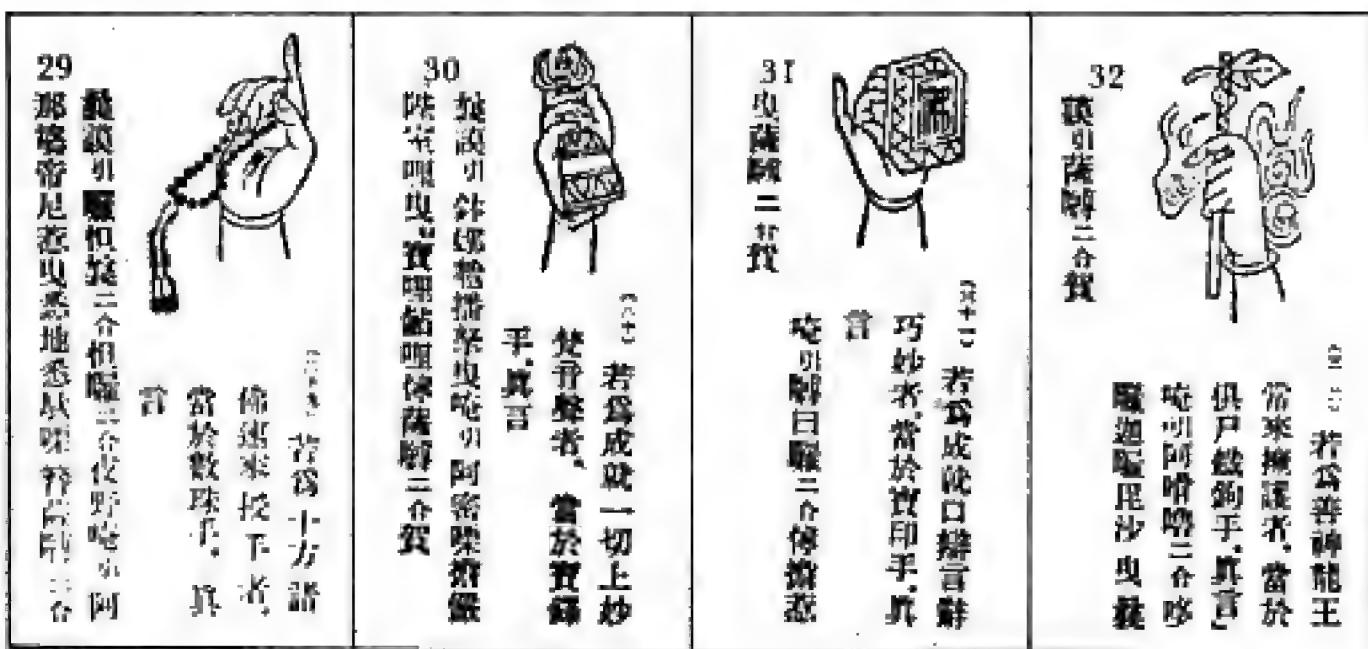
21 purple lotus: om̄ sara sara vajrakara hūm̄ phat

22 casket: om̄ vajrapāśakari ganamāṁra hūm̄

23 five-coloured cloud: om̄ vajrakari rāṭamāṁṭa



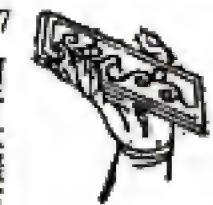
- 24 kuṇḍikā: om̄ vajrasikha rūṭamāṇṭa  
 25 padma (red lotus): om̄ śāṅkari svāhā  
 26 kunta: om̄ sammaiya kinehari hūṁ phaṭ  
 27 śāṅkha: om̄ śāṅkari mahāsamayaṁ svāhā  
 28 munḍa (skull): om̄ duna vajra hah



- 29 akṣamālā (rosary): namo ratnatrayaya, oṁ anāhate vijaye siddhi-siddhārthe svāhā  
 30 ghanṭa (bell): namo padmapāṇaye oṁ amṛtagarbhe śriye śrīthaṁsrini svāhā  
 31 mudrā (seal): oṁ vajranebhām jaye svāhā  
 32 ahkuṣa (Jap. kushi): oṁ akrodha-kara-visaye namo svāhā

(三十一) 若爲聰明多聞廣學

不忘者當於寶經手真言



唵引阿賀羅薩羅勝尾

佛野驥羅布彌帝薩羅三合賀



(三十二) 若爲生生世世常在佛宮殿中不處胎藏中受身者當於化宮殿手真言



(三十三) 若爲生生之處不離諸佛邊者當於化佛手真言



唵引微薩羅微薩羅吽汗吒

(三十四) 若爲令一切鬼神龍蛇虎狼師子人及非人常相恭敬愛念者當於合掌手



(三十五) 若爲慈悲優謹一切衆生者常於鵞杖手真言

33

真言

唵引尼薩羅尼薩羅吽汗吒

唵引尼薩羅尼薩羅吽汗吒

真言



(三十六) 若爲令一切鬼神龍蛇虎狼師子人及非人常相恭敬愛念者當於合掌手



(三十七) 若爲生生世世常在佛宮殿中不處胎藏中受身者當於化宮殿手真言



(三十八) 若爲從今身至佛身菩提心常不退轉者當於不退轉金輪手真言

金賀



(三十九) 若爲從今身至佛身菩提心常不退轉者當於不退轉金輪手真言



(四十) 若爲十方諸佛遠來摩頂授記者當於頂上化佛手真言

佛傳南國二合賀

(四十一) 若爲果蓏諸般稼穡當於浦桃手真言



唵引阿摩擗劍帝

合掌國外羅三合某訥素曉素曉野薩羅二合賀



(四十二) 若爲一切飢渴有情及諸煩惱得清涼者當於甘露手真言

38 never-retrograding cakravarti-cakra: om̄ ūṇavica svāhā

39 emanated uṣṇīṣa-Buddha: om̄ vajriṇī vajrāṅge svāhā

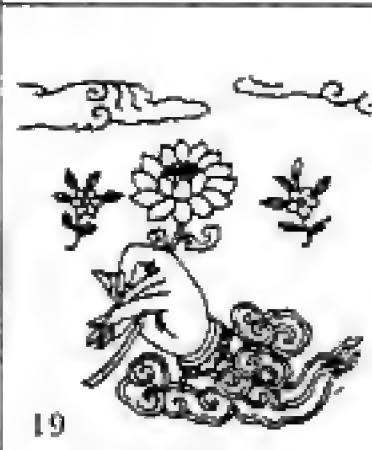
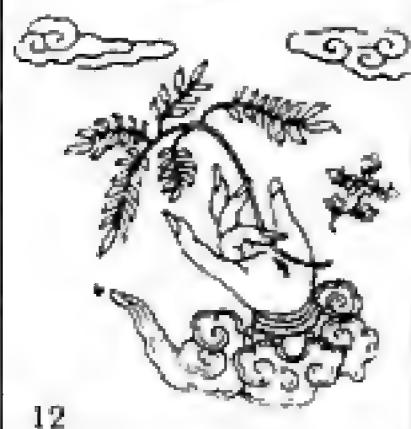
40 āmalaka: om̄ āmalakām ti dīne svāhā

41 varada-mudrā: om̄ suru prasuru prasuru suruyā svāhā

The hand holding the *daṇḍa* has the dhāraṇī *om nartī nartī naṭapati nartī dayāpate hūm phaṭ*. It refers to Hara as Naṭarāja. While many of the characteristics are new, the following can be seen in various forms of Harihara: khaḍga, vajra, abhaya, sūryamaṇi, candramaṇi, willow, kalaṭa or kuṇḍī, axe, lotus, conch, rosary, cakra, muṇḍa/skull (perhaps represents *añeya* 'deer' of Harihara).

The illustrations given above have been redrawn in a Korean hymnal with the dhāraṇīs in Siddham script. The depictions are clear and help to remove doubts of identification. They are reproduced in the ensuing pages.









"As people came to rely more heavily on the blessings and salvation promised by Avalokiteśvara, they came to require an Avalokiteśvara possessed of increasing strength and power. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, capable of unlimited miracles, became popular as an answer to this requirement. The first translation into Chinese of scriptures relating to him dates from 649, and the ten later translations with additional material reveal the extent to which he was honored in China and Japan" (Sawa 1972:145). He outstripped Amoghapāsa (Fukugenjaku) in popularity, though both were introduced into Japan at the same time. In 741 Gembo, a learned monk of the Hossō sect, copied a thousand sutra scrolls on the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. As a result faith in the deity spread far and wide. In the Nara period his statues were given a full complement of a thousand arms, but during the Heian period the arms were restricted to forty or forty-two. As faith in the powers of the Avalokiteśvara grew, people tended to concentrate more on this manifestation who came to be called Rengeō or "Lotus King" (Sawa 1972: 51), that is the king of the lotus family (padma-kula). The Rengeō-in, famous as the Hall of Thirtythree Bays (Sanjūsan-gen-dō) at Kyoto, houses one thousand and one statues. Nothing else achieves the level of its display of fervent devotion.

#### KEY TO THE TYPES OF THOUSAND-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA

The two, four, six, eight or ten main arms have been taken as a criterion for classification because of their visual prominence. Two or eight arms are attested by sketches (nos.1, 2, 15, etc.). Four or six arms are also spoken of in a Chinese manual of liturgical services translated by Samuel Beal (1866:404): "The figure of Kwan Yin may be either the one herein supposed (i.e., exhibited in the accompanying Plate, and commonly known as Kwan Yin, with 1000 arms and 1000 eyes), or it may be one with forty arms, or six arms, or four arms --provided always it be made of the purest and best material, and with the greatest care".

##### *Two main arms*

1. 2 arms
2. 2 arms, 5 heads
3. 2 + 40— + 960 arms

##### *Four main arms*

4. 2 vitarka, 2 añjali
5. 2 trident in vitarka & lotus in vitarka, 2 varada
6. 2 vitarka, 2 varada
7. 2 añjali, 2 vitarka + 40—

8. 2 añjali, 2 dhyāna + 40—
9. 2 añjali, 2 dhyāna + 40— + 960
10. 2 stūpa, 2 pañca & lotus + 40— + 960 (Nepal)

*Six main arms*

11. 2 dhyāna, 2 añjali, 2 vitarka + 40— (Tun-huang)
12. 2 dhyāna, 2 vitarka, 2 añjali + 40— + 960 in aureole
13. 2 lotus, 2 añjali, 2 lotus + 40—
14. 2 dhyāna, 2 añjali, 2 blue and white lotus + 40— + 960 in aureole

*Eight main arms*

15. 2 dhyāna, 2 añjali, 4 lotuses
16. 2 añjali, 2 rosary & lotus, 2 trident & book, 2 varada & kuṇḍikā
17. 2 añjali, 2 rosary & lotus, 2 cakra & bow and arrow, 2 varada & kuṇḍikā + 1000
18. 2 añjali, 2 rosary & book, 2 varada & lotus, 2 cakra & bow + 1000

*Ten main arms*

19. 2 sun & moon, 2 khaṭvāṅga & trident, 2 varada & varada holding pāśa, 2 abhaya, 2 añjali + halo of eyes
20. 2 sun & moon, 2 white lotus & pāśa, 2 leafy branch & rosary, 2 vitarka, 2 añjali + halo of eyes. The Avalokiteśvara on the left has a willow branch and a flaming cintāmaṇi in the second pair of hands.
21. 2 sun & moon, 2 conch & flaming cintāmaṇi, 2 leafy branch & rosary, 2 abhaya, 2 añjali + aureole of eyes. The left Avalokiteśvara reverses the attributes in the first two pairs of hands, moon & sun, flaming cintāmaṇi & white conch.

*Other types*

22. Aureole of arms (Nepal)
23. Seated on Sumeru. Main arms not clear.
24. Thirtyseven-deity maṇḍala of Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Mahākāruṇika according to Nāgārjuna
25. Four Japanese maṇḍalas
26. T'ang disposition of deities in the maṇḍala
27. Four Japanese bija-maṇḍalas
28. Bijā-maṇḍala (TZ. 296.41)
29. Symbol: cintāmaṇi
30. Symbol: lotus
31. Bijākṣara/ symbolic syllable: HRŪH
32. Hṛdaya-mantra
33. Mudrā

## DESCRIPTION OF THE TYPES OF THOUSAND-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA

1. Two arms in dhyāna-mudrā upraised to the level of the chest. Zuzō-shō 'selection of figures' at the Entsuji monastery, Koyasan, TZ.86.73 (sitting), Shō-kannon-zuzō 'figures of various kinds of Avalokiteśvara', TZ. 319.10 (standing).



2. Two arms, five heads. Shō-kannon-zuzō 'figures of various kinds of Avalokiteśvara', TZ.319.7.



3. Two arms in *añjali* + 40— + 960. This seated Senjū Kannon at Fujii-dera, Osaka has exactly one thousand hands. In dry lacquer, with a height of 97.9 cm, it is a masterpiece of the Nara period in the late eighth century. Representations of the Nara period usually possess one thousand arms, whereas those made in the Heian period are often restricted to forty or forty-two (Sawa 1972:51, pl.11 in magnificent colours).

4. Four arms: two in *vitarka-mudrā* of argumentation, two in *añjali*, eleven heads, bijākṣara: HRĪH, symbol: lotus. Senjū Kannon in Shoson-zuzō 'figures of divinities' by Shinkaku 88.64.

5. Four arms: upper right holds a trident in *vitarka* and upper left a lotus in *vitarka*, both lower hands are in *varada-mudrā*, six heads. Shō-kannon-zuzō 'figures of various kinds of Avalokiteśvara', TZ.319.8.



4



5



6

6. Four arms: two in vitarka, two in varada, the hands hold no object. Shō-kannon-zuzō, TZ.319.9, Kuhara-bon-zuzō 'figures in a copy kept by Mr. Kuhara' TZ.96.38.

7. Four (two in añjali, two in vitarka, both holding lotuses) + 40+ arms, standing.  
Besson-zakki 'description of divinities' by Shinkaku TZ.87.56.



8. Four (two in *anjali*, two in *dhyāna-mudrā* holding a bowl in the lap) + 40— arms, at the famous Sanjusan-gen-do/Hall of Thirtythree Bays at the Rengeō-in in Kyoto which houses 1001 statues of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara (Sawa 1972:pl.59). The main image in the hall is seated, and is the most important (Mori 1974:pl.70 in colour). Lacquer and gold leaf over wood, it was completed in 1254 by Tankei. The other thousand statues, with the same attributes, are standing and were commenced at the same time. The master *busshi*/sculptors like Tankei, Koen and others of the Kei school presented the finest of their skills as they participated in these prodigious undertakings (Mori 1974:152). The Sanjusan-gen-do was constructed at the request of the retired Emperor Goshirakawa (1127-92, ruled 1155-58). The 1001 images of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara including the large main image, were enshrined in 1164 at a consecration ceremony. The Hall was destroyed by fire in 1249, a few statues were rescued from the flames and can be seen today, though most of those now housed were produced after 1249.

The main Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara "is seated on an octagonal lotus pedestal with seven rows of petals. Behind it is a large oval mandorla with small images of the thirty-three manifestations of Avalokiteśvara amidst an openwork pattern of clouds and sacred trees, all intricately and skillfully formed. The statue and its accessories have been almost perfectly preserved since 1254. Each part is well balanced with the whole. No doubt it was from Unkei that Tankei learnt the technique of rendering the naturally draped robes, which are thickly and deeply carved. The plumpness of the face is a characteristic found in all statues by Tankei, and the features, in comparison with those of Unkei's works, have a more placid and refined expression. When we consider that Tankei was in his eighties at the time, it is indeed astounding that he was able to produce such a powerful, massive statue, even with the aid of two younger *busshi*" (Mori 1974:153-154).

In the Heian period the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara was the most widely worshipped Avalokiteśvara, as the mightiest of all and representing all other manifestations. Noteworthy statues of him were made for provincial temples, like, the standing statue at the Onjoji monastery in Shiga Prefecture. It has two arms in *anjali*, two in *dhyana* holding a bowl, and 40— arms (Sawa 1972:pl.31 in colour), wood, 175 cm high, early tenth century. A ninth century wooden statue, 266 cm high, is in the Lecture Hall of Koryūji, Kyoto (Sawa 1972:pl.71). The painted wooden statue at Enryaku-ji, second half of ninth century, is standing (Sawa 1972:pl.90).

This iconographic form with two upper hands in *anjali*, two lower ones in *dhyana-mudrā* holding a bowl, and 40— arms, usually in a standing posture, though sometimes seated, was the most prevalent form. It had 42 arms. The sumptuous portfolio volume on *Kannon Bosatsu* published by the Nara National Museum in 1981 illustrates his sculptures

and paintings from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries:

**Sculptures**

pl. 26 (p.138-140) early 9th cent.

pl. 44 (p.190-192) 11th cent.

pl. 49 (p.203-206, colour plate on p.39) 12th cent.

pl. 53 (p.214-216) 13th cent.

pl. 54 (p.222-224) A.D. 1224

pl. 56 (p.296- ) 12th cent.

pl. 59 (p.255-256) 13th cent.

Painting pl.17 (p.316-317) 13th cent.

A variation of this iconography can be seen in the standing statue at the Hoshoji, Kyoto, over a meter in height and carved from a single piece of wood. Dated about 924, it is crowned with twentyfive heads, of which the two large ones on either side of the main head are unusual (Sawa 1972:146-147, Fukuyama 1976: fig 147).

9. Two arms in abjali, 2 in dhyāna-mudrā holding a bowl + 40- + 960 in a vesica. This is the Nara-period dry-lacquer statue in the Golden Hall of the Toshodaiji monastery at Nara, 535.7 cm high, and from the second half of the eighth century (Sawa 1972: fig. 72). In 741 Gembo a learned monk of the Hossō sect commissioned the copying of one thousand sūtra scrolls containing information about the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. As a result faith in this deity spread far and wide. The famous T'ang Chinese monk Ganjin (Chinese Chien-chen), who arrived in Japan in 754 and established the Toshodai-ji in Nara in 759, commissioned the aforesaid Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara that stands in the temple's Golden Hall today. This Avalokiteśvara stands to the right of the main image of Rocana (Jap. Roshana) Buddha in the Golden Hall. Rocana is in the centre as the main object of worship, with a group of deities. To his left is Bhaiṣajyaguru (Jap. Yakushi); right: Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara

centre: Rocana flanked by Brahmā and Śakra

left: Bhaiṣajyaguru

These three statues, as well as those of Brahmā and Śakra, of the Four Guardian Kings, are perfect examples of Nara sculpture and "can be seen today in almost the same form that it had at the time of its original construction in the Nara period, even though it has been repaired on several occasions" (Ooka 1973:70, pl. 43 in colour).

10. A Nepalese sketch of Viśvarūpa Lokanātha (so captioned in the manuscript). Two upper hands hold a stūpa, two lower hands have a pāsa and lotus, 40- hands with attributes + 960 in aureole.



960 hands in an aureole. The attributes of the forty hands have been given earlier on pp.50-60. The painting has twentyeight deities (named in cartouches) besides Suryaprabha and Candraprabha.

11. Seated on a lotus pedestal with legs interlocked. One pair of hands in dhyāna-mudrā across the knees, another in añjali (adoration) at breast, and a third in vitarka-mudrā at each side + 40— hands. Tun-huang, 9th century, Waley 1931:31 (Stein 17).

The *Kannon Bosatsu* of the Nara National Museum illustrates Japanese paintings of this type:

Painting 15 (pp.312-313), 12th cent., Tokyo National Museum.

Painting 20 (pp.322-323), 13th cent., with twentyeight guardians and thirtythree manifestations of Avalokiteśvara.

Painting 22 (pp.326-327), late 13th cent., Nara National Museum.

Painting 23 (pp.328-329), 13th cent., Taiseiji monastery, Shiga with twenty-eight guardians.

Painting 21 (pp.324-325), 13th cent., from the Seichōji monastery, Hyogo has twentyseven faces and fortytwo arms. In the foreground are Śñdevī (Kudoku-ten) and Vasu rsi (Basu-sen).

12. A Tun-huang painting (Stein 35, Waley 1931:54-59) has a pair of hands in dhyāna-mudrā in the lap, a pair in vitarka, and two supernumerary hands in añjali-mudrā above Avalokiteśvara's head, and

Left		Right	
Buddhas of the Ten Directions	Candraprabha	Suryaprabha	Buddhas of the Ten Directions
Puṣpa Amoghapāda			Cintāmaṇi Dhūpā
Brahmā with two attendants			Śakra with three attendants
Mahākāla		AVALOKITEŚVARA	Maheśvara
with pretā and preta			
Māyūri Devarāja			Nārāyaṇa Buddha?
Two Lokapālas	preta (amṛta)	preta (jewels)	Mātrikā
Śrīdevī	Nanda	Upananda	Two Lokapālas
Ucchuṣma			Vasu Ṛṣi
Vināyaka			Kuṇḍali yakṣa
			*Trailokyavijaya

Three Tun-huang paintings at the Musée Guimet have the same characteristics: 101, 102, 103. In painting 101 (Nicolas-Vandier 1974:198ff, pl. IX, and colour plate in the volume of plates) the two hands in vitarka hold red and blue lotuses. Avalokiteśvara is surrounded by fourteen deities: Four Lokapālas, Sarasvatī & Vasu Ṛṣi, Ucchuṣma & Kuṇḍali Nārāyaṇa?/Mahādeva? & Guhyapāda, Candragarbha & Suryagarbha, Vināyaka & Vajramukha. The names are specified in cartouches. Nicolas-Vandier counts  $8 + 17 + 18 = 43$  hands. They should be 42 hands. She has specified the attributes and mudrās in all the hands.

In painting 102 Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara is seated on a lotus and has  $6 + 34$  hands (Nicolas-Vandier 1974:204ff.).

Painting 103 is a standing representation of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, while in the foregoing paintings 101 and 102 He is seated. He has 42 hands i.e. 21 pairs of hands and not 43 as counted by Nicolas-Vandier (1974:208). The Avalokiteśvara is attended by Buddhas of the Ten Directions, flying deities, Lien-hua-sheng & Hua-yen bodhisattvas, Indra & Brahmā, Amoghapāda & Cintāmaṇicakra, Kapila & Maheśvara, Shen-ming-kin-t'u-t'uo & Hārīti, Mahāsthāmaprāpta & Maitreya, Four Lokapālas, Mayūri & Nārāyaṇa, Śrīdevī & Vasu Ṛṣi, preta & man, Ucchuṣma & Vajra who protects against poison (can be Nila-kaṇṭha?), Vajramukha & Vināyaka, Trailokyavijaya & San-me-i-she-tsuen. The three paintings are described in detail by Nicolas-Vandier (1974:198-215).

13. Woodprints of standing Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, with the pair of lower and upper hands holding a lotus each, the middle hands in añjali + 40+ hands. One of the numerous wood-block prints which were originally kept inside the wooden statues of the

Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara in the Sanjusangendo, Kyoto. They are surrounded by twenty-eight protectors (Nara 1981:456 no.58, pl.58 on pp. 402-403).

14. A pair of hands in dhyāna, another pair in añjali, and two hands hold blue and white lotuses + 40— + aureole of 960.

Sahasrabhuja Sahastrākṣa Avalokiteśvara (Jap. Senju Sengen Kanjizai, Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara) in the quarter of Ākāśagarbha in the Garbha maṇḍala (Esot. 199). He represents the merit of the family of padma (padma-kula) and is indeed placed directly below the quarter of Avalokiteśvara. His thousand hands represent the infinity of the means of salvation used by his great compassion for the benefit of beings. The thousand eyes that his hands are provided with represent the unlimited wisdom that perceives beings for leading them to salvation. Above him are seen placed on the clouds two deva carriers of offerings. Below are two acolytes before him, to the right Mahāśrī-Lakṣmī and to his left Vasu-ṛṣi (Tajima 1959:120). Mahāśrī and Vasu-ṛṣi are the two principal acolytes among the Twenty-eight, given above in no. 12. They are described by Śubhākarasiṁha in his ritual of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara (T 1068).

The Garbha maṇḍala has two triads. The central triad is Mahāvairocana flanked by Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi. The second triad is Mahāvairocana, Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara and 108-armed Vajradhara. This is conspicuous by the large figures of these three deities.

Though he sits in the quarter of Kṣitigarbha, he represents attainment and is called Renge-ō “King of the Lotus Family”. He is in fact related to the quarter of Avalokiteśvara, and has been placed under this very quarter, and this happens to be the quarter of Kṣitigarbha. The large size correlates him and Vajradhara visually to the central Mahāvairocana.

Thousand has the meaning of being innumerable, therefore complete. The thousand hands symbolise the innumerable means he has for showing compassion to sentient beings. The thousand eyes signify his wisdom to see where to help. These thousand eyes are in the palms of his thousand hands. This Avalokiteśvara vowed to benefit and bless all sentient beings and prayed to be endowed with a thousand hands and a thousand eyes, according to the Senju-sengen-dhāraṇī sūtra. Forty or really fortytwo (as two folded hands are counted as one) hands and eyes are shown in the illustration, for as he saves beings in the twenty-five worlds of existence, these forty are enough. The hands hold various objects: lotus, sutra box, jewelled hall, bell, rope, vase, axe, willow, wheel, rosary, arrow, sword, mirror, etc. Each object symbolises one of his vows. He is seated cross-legged on a jewelled lotus with twenty-seven faces. Of the twenty-seven faces, twenty-five are for the purpose of saving the twenty-five worlds of existence, one is Avalokiteśvara's own true, and another the face of Amitābha. Another explanation is that his faces show the virtues of the Ten



Sri Devi

14. Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara

Vasu Rsi

Paramitas. Some sutras state that he has one face, another eleven faces, and still another five hundred faces.

His esoteric name is Daihikongo "the Vajra of Great Compassion". His symbol/samaya/sammayagyo is an open lotus, also a jewelled ball on a lotus. His bijaksara is *hrih*. His mudra is the *renge-goko-in* "the lotus of the five-pointed vajra" and also the *hachiyo-in* "eight-petalled lotus mudra." His mantra is *om vajra-dharma hrih* (Suzuki 1937:197-198).

15. Senju Kannon = Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara. Two hands in dhyana-mudra hold a bowl, two in anjali and four hands sport a lotus each (white, red, blue and purple) + 40+ hands. Zuzo-sho 'selection of figures' at the Entsuji monastery, Koyasan TZ. 86.55, Huntington p.187.



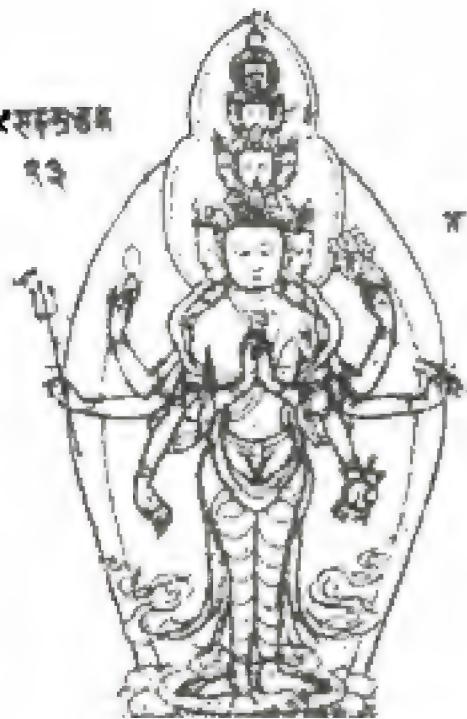
15(86.55)



15

Sahasrabhuja Avalokitesvara (J. Senju-Kannon)

千手觀音  
せんじゅくわん



16

16. Sahasrabhuja, so named in a Nepalese sketchbook. Two central hands in *añjali* and the other six hold:

right	left
rosary	lotus
trident	book
varada-mudrā	kundikā

Forty hands and aureole of 960 hands are missing.

17. Mong. Mingyan ḡar-tu qomsim bodhi-satuva, Tib. Phyag-stoh spyan-ston Spyan-ras-gzigs, Skt. Sahasra-bhuja Avalokiteśvara, from the Mongolian Kanjur (Lokesha Chandra 1986:29). Two central hands in *añjali*, other six hold rosary & lotus, cakra & bow and arrow, varada & kundikā + 1000 hands. This type was painted at Tabo in the 15-16 cent. (Huntington 1972:95-96, pl.7).

Also painted in the Guru Iha-khan of the Saspal temple in Ladakh. The *añjali-mudrā* is identified by Genoud as holding a jewel to his breast (1981:58, colour plate: Saspal 1). As the bodhisattva of compassion, "no living being is neglected by him – his influence shines in all directions, like the sun. The all-pervading quality of his compassion is symbolized by the eleven faces indicating the four cardinal directions, the four intermediate directions, the zenith, the nadir and the centre. The red uppermost head is that of



17

Amitābha, head of the Padma family, the family to which Avalokiteśvara belongs" (ibid.54).

18. Dharma-koṣa-saṅgraha p.74 describes the Sahasrabhuja Lokeśvara at Devapatana as having eight main hands among either 1000 or 108: original r.h. and l.h. in añjali, second pair holds rosary & book, third pair varada & lotus, and the fourth pair wields cakra and bow (*kramato militvā bhujā-nām sahasraṁ likhitāni tu aṣṭot-tara-satam/tatrāpi aṣṭau mukhyāni mūla-savya-vāmābhyaṁ kṛtāñjali-mudrā, dvitīye japa-māla-pustake, tritīye varada-kamale, caturthe cakra-dhanusī*). The Sanskrit passage has been cited *in extenso* for the nomenclature añjali-mudrā. Following Bhattacharyya (1958: 437), Huntington has used the

word *namaskāra-mudrā*, inspite of the lack of authentication of this term: "A search of all the literature on Buddhist iconography available to the author has failed to produce a single additional reference to the *namaskāra-mudrā*. . ." (Huntington 1972:91). The Dharma-koṣa-saṅgraha supplies the correct expression añjali-mudrā.

According to Amṛtānanda the faces can be eleven, five hundred or at times a thousand (*saśadvara-hima-rajata-nikāśa-mūrttau likhitāni mukhāni ekādaśa-pramāṇam tu pañca-satāni, kutaicit sahasraṁ mukhānām*).

The expression *Sahasrabhuja Lokeśvara* clearly indicates that the Thousand-armed was a deity in popular worship who had been interiorised into the Buddhist fold.

Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya (1974:21-22) has cited the whole passage and translated it. The readings have to be corrected at several places, e.g. *bhujau* has to be corrected to *mūrttau*.

*Ten main arms*

19. Ten arms with distinct emblems: 2 discs of sun & moon, 2 khaṭvāṅga & trident, 2 varada & varada holding pāśa, 2 abhaya, 2 añjali. The other hands, with an eye in the palm of each, form a halo (Waley 1931:160, Stein 159, Whitfield 1983:2.70).



The Tun-huang paintings Ch. 00394 (a, b) are a pair of thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvaras (Waley 1931:272, Stein 457).

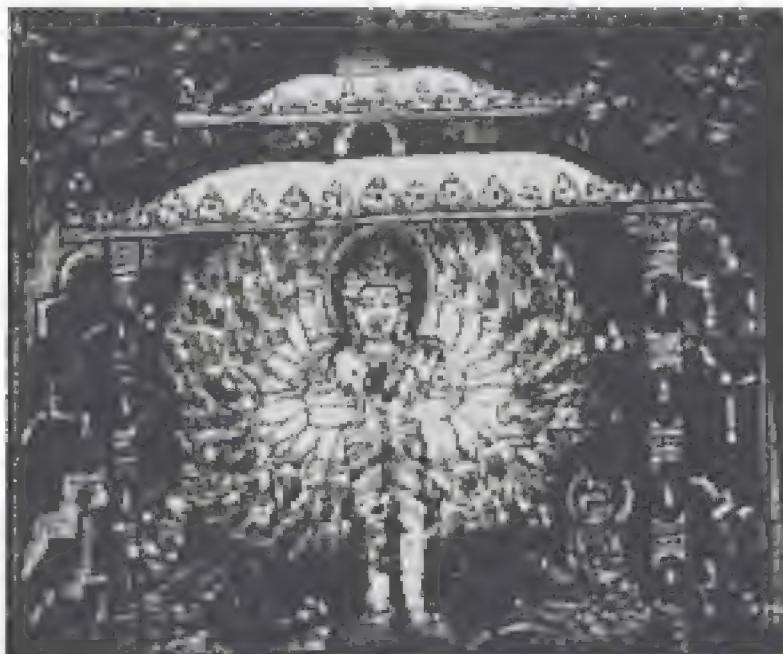
20. Tun-huang painting, Musée Guimet no.99, on paper has a pair of Avalokiteśvaras. They have the same characteristics except in the second pair of hands: sun & moon, white lotus & pāśa (Avalokiteśvara on left has willow branch & flaming cintāmaṇi), leafy branch

& rosary, two hands in vitarka and another two in añjali.

21. The Tun-huang painting, Musée Guimet no.100, on paper, has a pair of bodhisattvas: 10 arms + aureole of eyes. The five pairs of hands hold sun and moon (reversed in the left Avalokiteśvara: moon and sun), a conch and a flaming cintāmaṇi jewel (again reversed in the left Avalokiteśvara), leafy branch and rosary, two hands in abhaya and another pair of hands in añjali (Nicolas-Vandier 1974:196-197, illustrated in the volume of plates).

#### *Other types*

22. Koñkaṇe Śivapure Sahasrabhujā-Lokanāthaḥ (Aṣṭasāhasrikā ms. dated A.D.1015, Cambridge Add. 1643, fol. 147r2 at the end of chapter 17, no.10). Bodhisattva is white, standing, enclosed by a halo of arms, of whom the first pair is in a mudra of teaching, attended by two acolytes: young bodhisattva to the right, red (Tārā?) to the left.



22

23. Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, seated on Sumeru, with 40— hands not clear. A scroll in the possession of Mr. Takejiro Tanji at Tokyo, TZ.138.

24. Nāgārjuna-krama 37deity maṇḍala of Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Mahakaruṇika (Tib. Klu-sgrubs-lugs-kyi Thugs-rje-chen-po phyag-stoh spyan-stoh lha-so-bdun-mahi dkyil) in the Rgyud-sde kun-btsu/Tantra-samuccaya (NTMP. 18.13). The thirtysix deities are (Ngor Thar-rtse mkhan-po Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho, *Tibetan Maṇḍalas, The Ngor Collection*, Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd., 1983).

#### *First circle (1-8)*

E Green Tārā

W Maṇibhadra (yellow)

S Amoghapāśa (red)

N Hayagrīva (red)



23(Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara on Sumeru)

SE Mantrēśvara/Gzūns-kyi-dbañ-phyug (white) SW Maitreya (yellow)

NW Mañjuśrī (saffron)

NE Vajrapāṇi (green)

*Second circle (9-24)*

East : four bodhisattvas, white, vajra family

South: " " , yellow, ratna family

West : " " red, padma family

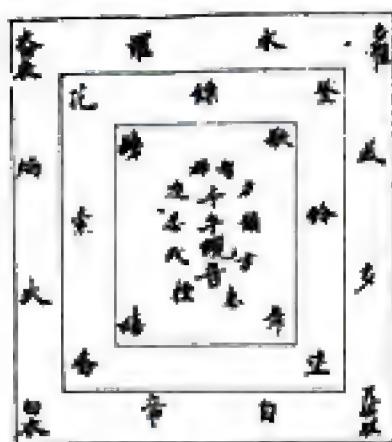
North: " " green, karma family

*Corners (25-32): Lāsyā, Mālyā, Gītā, Nṛtyā*

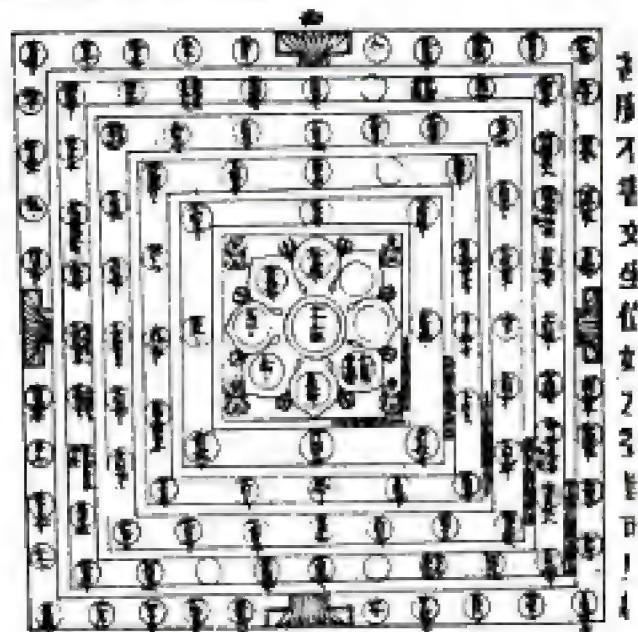
Dhūpā, Puṣpā, Dīpā, Gandhā

*Gates (33-36): Four Lokapālas*

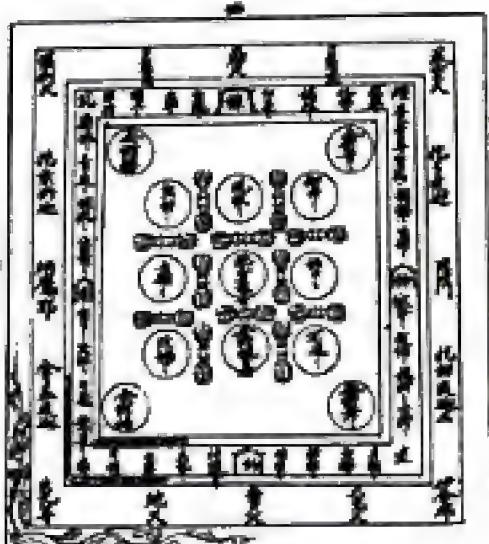
25. Four Japanese manḍalas of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, from Mandara-shū 'collection of manḍalas', compiled by Kōnen, copied in A.D. 1187, TZ.98 fig. 68-71. Their identification in text on pages 27-29 (nos.65-68) is as follows:



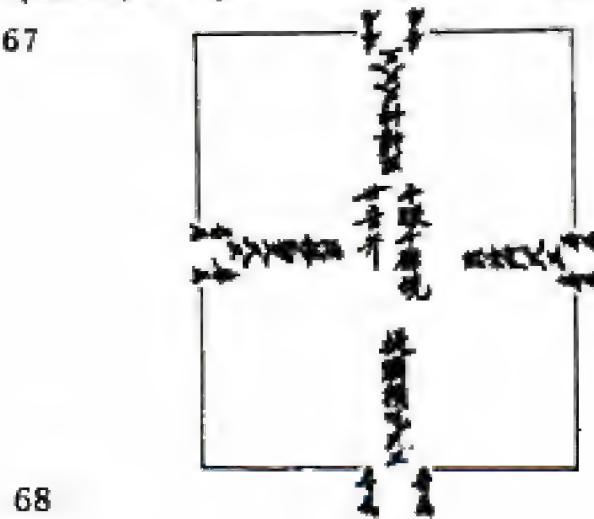
65



67



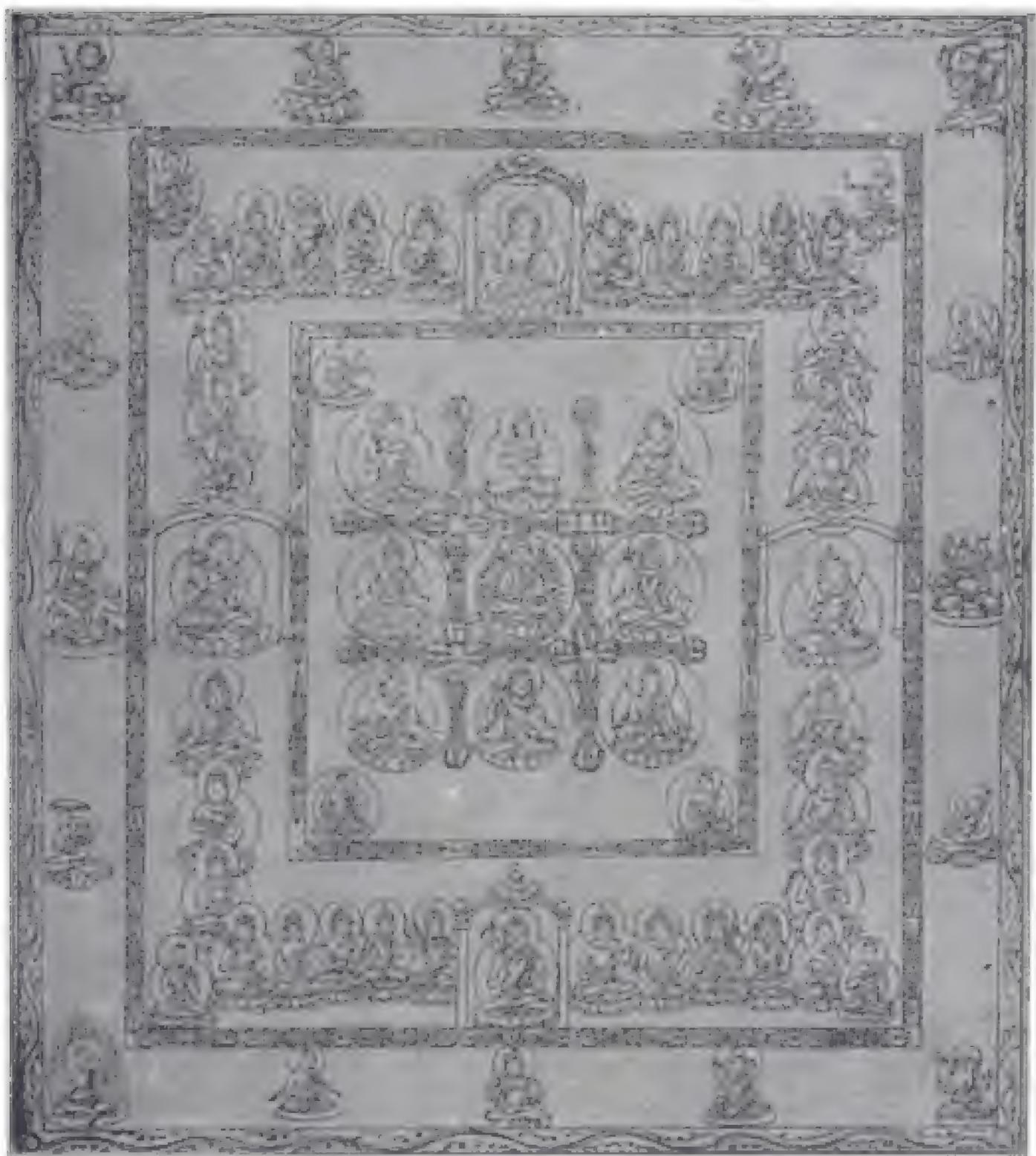
66



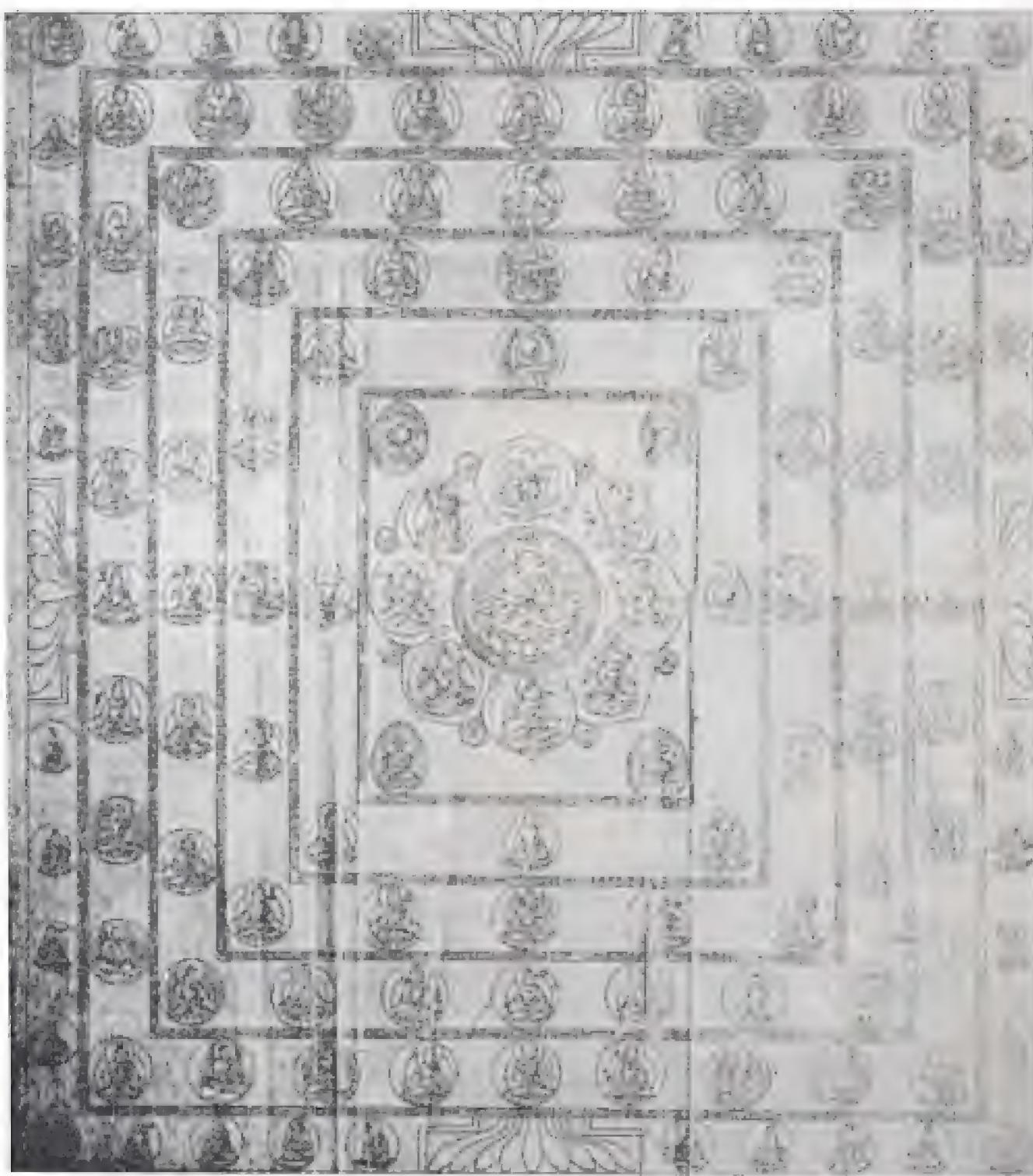
68



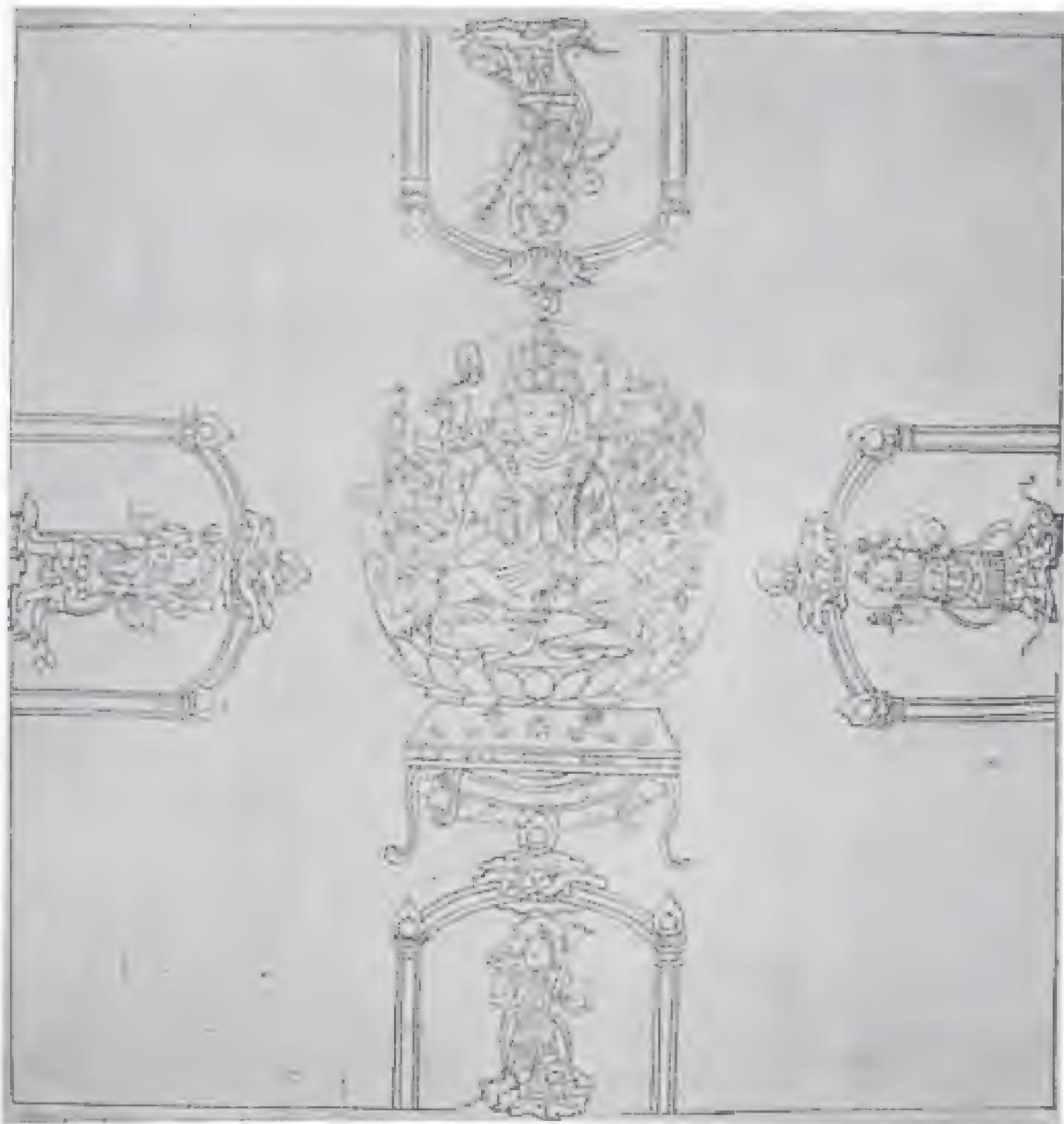
25 (Sahasrabhuja-mandala I in TZ. 98.68 p.27 no.65)



25 (Sahasrabhuja-mandala II in TZ. 98.69 p.28 no.66)



25 (Sahasrabhuja-mandala III in TZ. 98.70 p.28 no.67)



25 (Sahasrabhuja-mandala IV in TZ. 98.71 p.29 no.68)

26. Disposition of deities in the mandala of Thousand-armed Mahākārunika, transmitted from T'ang China, TZ. 91.2.



27. Four Japanese bija-mandalas of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, from Shika-shō-zuzō 'figures copied by four masters', TZ. 89.52-55.

千手千眼  
佛觀音菩薩



TZ. 89.52



TZ. 89.53

千手千眼  
佛觀音菩薩



TZ. 89.54

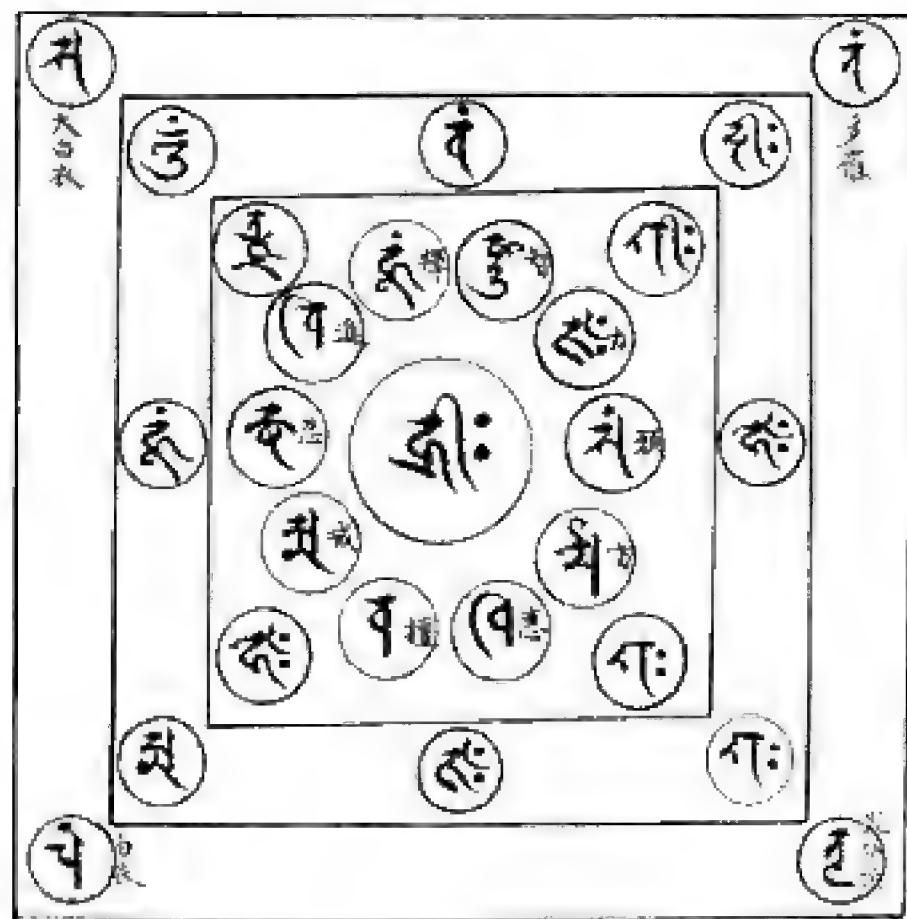


TZ. 89.55

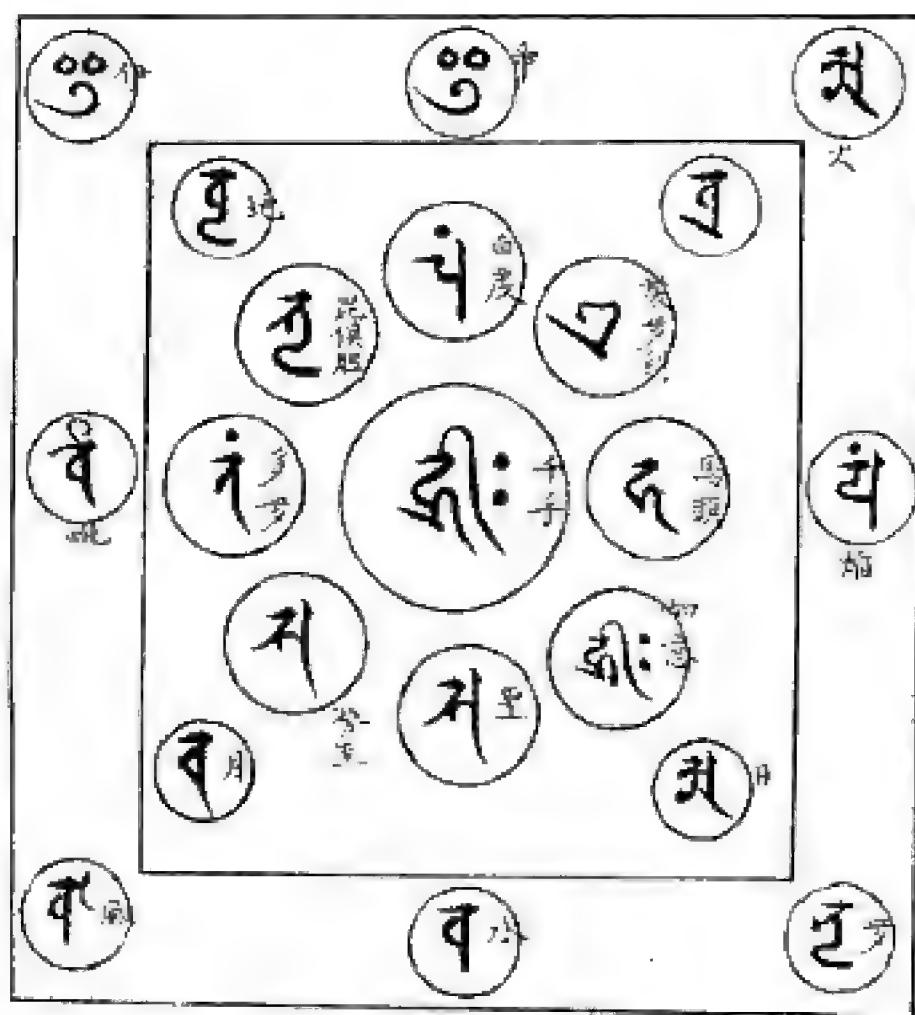
千手曼茶

羅

儀軌不空詣  
大師請來

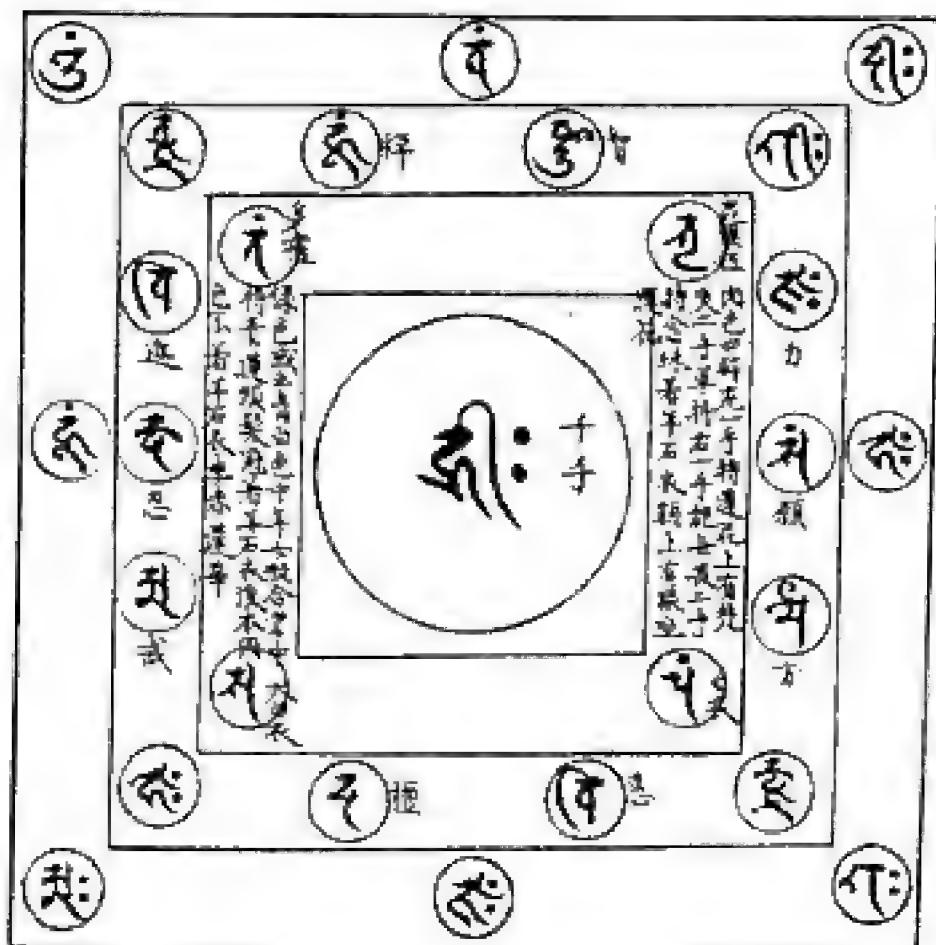


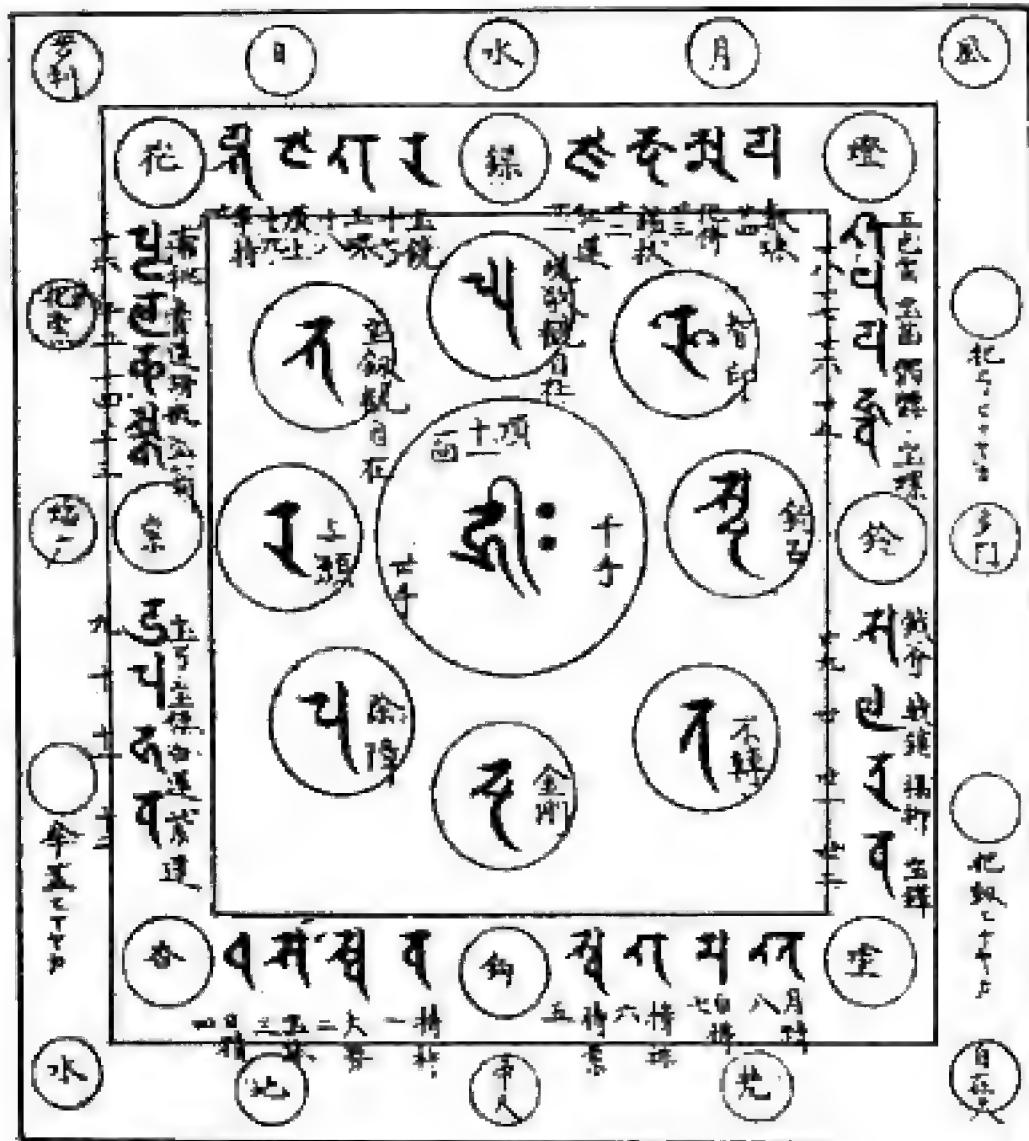
千手曼茶



千手千眼

儀軌說也





28. Bija-mandala, from TZ. 296.41.



29. Symbol of Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara in a manuscript scroll of Chōjō mandara at the Toji monastery: flaming cintāmaṇi (see next page).

30. Symbol in Daihi-taizō...shosetsu fudōki by Shinjaku 2.62(1.78):lotus



30(TZ. 2.62)



31 (see page 91)

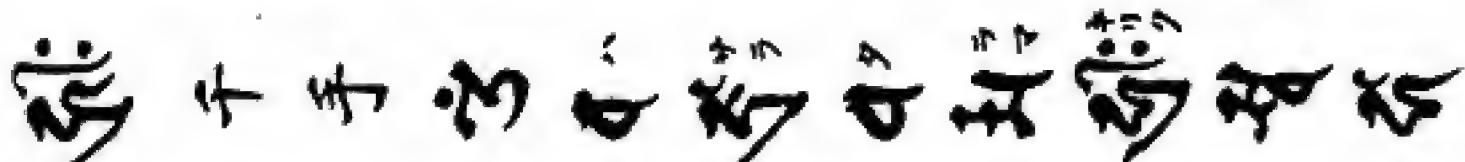


29(symbol of Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara)

31. Bijākṣara/symbolic syllable of Thousand-armed (Senjū): HRJH  
 His bijākṣara as one of the Twentyfive Bodhisattvas is SA.  
 Another bijākṣara is VAH:



32. Hṛdaya-mantra: *om vajradharma hrīḥ svāhā*



33. Mūla-mudrā of Sahasrabhuja, in the Shingon-mikkyō-zu-in-shū 'collection of the illustrations of mudrās of the esoteric Shingon denomination' (Lokesh Chandra/Sharada Rani 1978:4.93).



A number of mudrās of Thousand-armed (T.) are given in In-zū 'illustrations of mudrās' at the Kōzanji monastery, Kyoto, TZ. 243.11 (invitation to T.), 20, 34, 73, 76, 77.

## CHAPTER 5

### VULGATE VERSION OF THE HYMN TO THOUSAND-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA

The Vulgate Version is one of the three basic sūtras of the Zen school of Buddhism in China, Korea and Japan. It is the shortest version and is the only one recited in the monasteries of China, Japan and Korea. Its recitation is available on cassettes. The words are divided and numbered. The division of the words is not happy. Instructions to join conjunct consonants and to lengthen vowels have been omitted. It was transcribed, in ancient times itself, from a sloppy recitation or from a defective manuscript which was not properly intelligible. *Dudu* occurs as an expletive to slur over a lacuna when the words were not perceived clearly.

The Vulgate Version is extant in the transliteration of (i) Bhagavaddharma, which was copied with slight variations by (ii) Amoghavajra. The two transliterations are practically identical. It is divided into 82 words in Bhagavaddharma, and into 74 (75 not marked) in Amoghavajra. There are variants in (iii) Ji-un Sonja's text in Siddham, (iv) the Korean text, and (v) a bilingual text from China.

(i) Bhagavaddharma translated the sūtra under the title *Ch'ien-shou ch'ien-yen kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa kuang ta-yilan-man wu-ai ta-pe-i-hsin t'o-lo-ni ching* (T 1060, Nj 320, K 294). The date of the translation lies between A.D.650-661 (K 294). He came to China from Western India and the Taishō Tripitaka has only two works by him: both on the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara (T 1059, 1060). The second opuscule has made him immortal.

Twelve scrolls of Nilakantha Lokeshvara texts in Chinese have been found at Tun-huang (Giles 1957:105-106). Manuscript 3793 of the Stein Collection of Chinese scrolls from Tun-huang adds a note at the end: "Translated at Khotan by the śramaṇa Bhagavaddharma of Western India". It is notable that Bhagavaddharma accomplished the translation at Khotan. Nilakandi for Nilakantha in the Bhagavaddharma and Amoghavajra texts seems to be a Central Asian form.

(ii) Amoghavajra (A.D. 705-774 var. 770) has two texts of the Vulgate Version (T 1064, 1113B). None of them is catalogued in Nj, nor are they included in the Korean edition. We have taken up the text T 1113B from the Taisho edition (20.498-501) which is based on a manuscript of the Kyōhō period from the library of the Tōyama (or Fusō) Daigaku. The text is a transliteration with interlinear exegesis, including ritual instructions.

(iii) The readings of Ji-un Sonja's text (1.195-198) agree in the main with Bhagavaddharma, but there are number of significant variations. It shows that the Nilakantha-hymn was a corpus of floating traditions. The text of Ji-un Sonja helps to rectify readings, as its Sanskrit is fairly correct, and as such of outstanding value. It is a pity that I came to it

after years of hard work of reconstruction from Chinese transliterations.

(iv) The Korean text has been transcribed from the collection of hymns for Buddhist rites entitled *Bul-za Yae Song Jap*, published by Bo-ryon-kak, Seoul 1981 (*Bul-za* Buddhist, *yae* rites, *song* hymns, *jap* collection). The hymn is entitled *Shin-myo-cangku-te-tarani*. It is known in short as *Hwa chun suo* 'illustrated Sahasrabhuja'. The captions of the illustrations are indicated in the Korean comments, along with their Chinese characters in a number of instances. The Sanskrit names of the illustrated deities have been provided wherever possible. I am grateful to B. J. Chung, Professor of Buddhist Studies, Dongguk University, Seoul (formerly at the Jawaharlal Nehru University) for his kind help. It has been compared with two tape-recorded recitations.

This hymn is hung in Korean homes to bring auspiciousness. It is calligraphed in Hangul and Siddham scripts, as well as illustrated. During my visit to Korea in 1981, I could buy a set of these hanging slips. It is reproduced here for its folk illustrations of Buddhist deities and for its peculiar Siddham calligraphy. Its illustrations differ from the previous collection of hymns. Its calligraphy of Siddham differs from the usual Japanese style and is interesting for the development of this script in Korea.

(v) A bilingual text in Tibetan script, followed by two Chinese transliterations comes from China. It has interesting readings.

We reproduce below the constituted text of the Vulgate Version on the basis of Bhagavaddharma (Bh) and Amoghavajra (Am), followed by variants from Ji-un Sonja (Ji) and Korean (Ko).

#### CONSTITUTED TEXT OF THE VULGATE VERSION (BH, AM)

1. *namo ratna-trayāya/ nama ḍryĀvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahasattvāya mahākarupikāya/ Om̄ sarva-bhāyesu trāṇa-karāya(1). tasyā(2) namaskṛtvā imām(3) ḍryĀvalokiteśvara-stavanam̄ Nilakanṭha-nāma(4)/*

2. *hṛdayam̄(5) vartayiṣyāmi(6) sarv-ūrtha-sādhanam̄(7) subham̄(8)/ ajeyām̄ sarva-bhūtānām̄(9) bhava-mārga(10)-viśodhakam̄(11)//*

3. *TADYATHĀ/ Om̄ apaloka(12) lokātikranta(13) ehi(14) Hare mahābodhisattva sarpa-sarpa(15)/ smara-smara mama(16) hṛdayam̄ kuru-kuru karma(17)/ dhuru-dhuru vijayate mahāvijayate(18)/ dhara-dhara dharanī-rāja(19)/ cala-cala mama vimala-mūrtte re(20)/ ehy-ehi krṣṇa-sarp-epavīta(21)/ viṣa-viṣam̄ prabhāsaya(22)/ hulu-hulu Malla/ hulu-hulu Hare(23)/ sara-sara siri-siri suru-surū/ bodhiya-bodhiya(24) bodhaya-bodhaya maitriya(25) Nilakanṭha/ (26)darśanena prahlādaya(27) manah svāhā/*

*siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddha-yogeśvarāya svāhā/ Nilakanṭhāya svāhā/  
 Varāha-mukhāya(28) svāhā(29)/ Narasiṁha-mukhāya(30) svāhā/ padma-hastāya(31)  
 svāhā/ cakra-hastāya(32) svāhā(33)/ padma-hastāya?(34) svāhā/ (35)Nilakanṭha-vyāghrāya  
 svāhā/ Mahābali-Śahkarāya svāhā(35))/.*

*4. namo ratna-trayāya/ nama ḍryĀvalokiteśvarāya(36) svāhā(37))/*

(1) Bh, Am *tana* instead of *trāṇa-karāya*. Ji and Ko have the correct reading. Vajrabodhi (T 1061) has *sarva-bhayebhyo trāṇa-karāya*.

(2) Ko *tasmai*.

(3) The Chinese character for *math* is pronounced miōung (Couvreur 790c). *Imāṁ* stands for Classical Sanskrit *idāṁ*.

(4) The portion *-stavanam* *Nilakanṭha-nāma*, is garbled in all the texts. Bh seems to understand *-eṣvaraṁ tava namo Narakindi*. Am follows him. Ji reads *aryaarakiteśvarim dhava namo nilakanṭha nama*. Ko : *āryāvalokiteśvara tava Nilakanṭha namah* (=āryāvalokiteśvara-stavati *Nilakanṭha-nāma*). Chin. *tavanamo* (Siddham *dhavanamo*) = *stavanam* has been misinterpreted as *tava namah* ‘salutation to you’

The intention of the passage is: having done salutation to him who protects from all fears, namely the Aṣṭa-bhaya-trāṇa Avalokiteśvara, here (*idāṁ*) is the recitation (*nāma*) to Nilakanṭha as sung by āryāvalokiteśvara. Avalokiteśvara the great bodhisattva authenticates the recitation of the hymn to the heterodox deity Nilakanṭha. The Aṣṭa-bhaya-trāṇa Avalokiteśvara, with eight arms, is illustrated below from the Tibetan xylograph Rin-hbyun (Lokesh Chandra 1986:288):



The word Nilakantha has been transcribed into Chinese by Bh as Na-ra-kin-tch'eu = Narakindī. The Siddham has Narakidhi. It seems to be a Central Asian form. The last two Chinese characters kin (Couvreur 865b) and tch'eu (Couvreur 180a) are not found in Julien.

The Pelliot Chinuis 2778 from Tun-huang is a fragment which contains the Nilakantha-nāma and provides insights into our text. It is written vertically, from top to bottom, in Siddham (Pauly 579):

- Column 2. *namo ratnatrayaya namah āryā*  
 4. *valokiteśvaraya bodhisatvā*  
 6. *ya mahāsatvāya mahākāruṇī*  
 8. *kāya oṁ sarvabhayeṣu trāṇaka*  
 10. *rāya tasya me nāmas kṛtvā i aṁ (= idam?)*  
 12. *āryālokiśvara tava nī*  
 14. *lakanṭhanāma hrdayam āvartta*  
 16. *yisyāmi sarvārthasādhanām śrutam*  
 18. *ajeyām sarvabhuṭānām bhavamā*

Nāma-kīrtana, nāma-japa or recitation of the names of a deity, is an integral part of the religious systems of India. It is the third of the nine kinds of bhakti. The Buddhist *nembutsu* 'meditating on the Buddha' is the invocation of the name of Amitā (Amitābha) in order to be reborn in his Pure Land (Sukhāvatī). It became very popular from the time of Donran (T'an-luan, A.D. 476-542) the first of the five patriarchs of the Jōdō sect. *Shōmyō-nembutsu* is invoking the name of Amida (Amitābha) Buddha vocally (shōmyō) and meditating upon him (nembutsu) (JEBD 297a). For a detailed history of nāma-japa in India see Joshi 1968:34ff.

(5) Am (Siddham) *herima* = *hy/daya/m*.

(6) Chin *vartasāmi*, Siddham *vadhasami* = *vartayisyāmi* 'I will tell'. Compare *vartā* 'talk'.

(7) *T'eōu/du* represents dha of sādhanām. Julien (1861:209) gives this character for da, da besides tu, du, etc.

(8) Tun-huang fragment (Pauly 579) has *śrutam*. The Chinese transcription of Bh and Am is not clear. Ji and Ko are clearly *śubham*.

(9) Bh *śarva-satvānām*.

(10) Bh *bhaga*, Am *vaga*, Ji *bhavamata*, Ko *bhavamata*, stand for *bhava-mārga*.

(11) Bh Am are confused, *ma* belongs to the previous word *mārga*. *vidha* = *vi[so] dha[kam]*. The Siddham transcriber has slurred over with *va dudu*. The character corresponds to Sanskrit *tu, du, dha, dhu, duḥ* (Julien 1861:209). Ji Ko *viśodhakam*.

(12) Bh *avaloka e*, Am *apaloka e* (a Central Asian form of Avalok[ita]), Ji *avaloke* (= *avaloka e*), Ko *āloke* (= *āloka e*). The vocative particle *e* is common in the Gītagovinda.

(13) Ji *ālokapatī fātikrānta*, Ko *ālokamati lokātikrānta*.

*Avaloka (apaloka) e lokātikrānta* means "O Thou who hast transcended the world grant us Thy glance". The Ko reading *āloka e ālokamati lokātikrānta* refers to the invoked deity as "Light Eh", one who is the mind (mati) to gain the Light (āloka) of En-light-enment: compare the concept of bodhicitta. The Ji reading *āvaloka e ālokapatī atikrānta* means "Light Eh, the Lord of Light, the Transcendent". Āloka is an allusion to the intimate connection of Avalokita with Amitabha, who has several epithets of light in the Wu-liang-shou-ching (Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra): Buddha of Infinite Light, the Buddha of Boundless Light, the Buddha of All-pervasive Light, the Buddha of Incomparable Light, the Buddha of the Light of the Flame's King, the Buddha of Pure Light, etc. (EB. 1.441). The 24th chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra on Samantamukha, refers to Avalokiteśvara as *Lokeśvararāja-nāyaka* or "one whose Lord is Lokeśvararāja", which is synonymous with Amitāyus in the Vajradhātu-mandala (Tajima 1959:167). The hymn begins with light to emphasise this aspect which is primal to the vaitulya sūtras which our text is. The hymn is to Nīlakanṭha and in this connection we may also bear in mind the twelve jyotiḥlingas of Śiva spread over different parts of India.

(14) Ji, Ko *ehy ehi*.

(15) Ko omits *sarpa-sarpa*. The literal meaning of *sarpa-sarpa* is 'seep in, glide in'. It is the slow but steady, gentle yet gradual pervasion of the human mind with the essence of Avalokiteśvara. The dhāraṇī can be transcreated and not translated.

(16) Bh *makemake*, Am *mama*, Ji *mahe-mahe*, Ko omits it.

(17) Bh Am *karmām*, Ko adds *sādhaya-sādhaya*.

(18) Ji Ko *vijayante mahāvijayante* (= *vijayanta e mahāvijayanta e*). Vijayanta is a name of Indra, but here it simply means "Oh Victorious One".

(19) Bh *dhareñīśvararāja*, Am *dharanī-rāja* (rāja is transcribed in both places in its Prakrit form *rāya*). Ji *dharaindrenīśvaroya* = *dharanīndreśvararāja*, Ko *dharanīdhareśvara* (?)

Am *dhirinīraya* (in Siddham) with vočalic assimilation in *dhirinī* for *dharanī* earth' and the Prakrit form *rāya* for *rāja*.

Dharanīdhara is an adj. of Viṣṇu and Śiva (PW). Dharapīdhareśvara can mean Dharanīdhara = Viṣṇu/Hari+Iśvara = Śiva/Hara. Thus it can be an equivalent of Hari-hara, a veiled allusion to the origin of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.

Dharapīdhara and Dharapīdhara occur in the outer vajra quarter of the Garbhadr̥u mandala (Tajima 1959:130) and Dharapīdhara occurs again in the quarter of Kṣitigarbha

of the same mandala (Tajima 1959:109).

The Jain tradition has Dharapendra who is associated with Pārvanātha in hymns, inscriptions and art. He is a lokapāla of the north-east in the Pratiṣṭha-sāroddhāra (Jainendra-siddhānta-kośa 510).

Dharanī(i)mīdhara is the name of a bodhisattva in the Rāṣtrapāla-paripṛcchā, the name of a cakravartin in the Mahāvastu, and the name of a nāga king in the Mahāmāyūri (see references in Edgerton 1953:276).

Akṣayamati and Dharanīmīdhara are two bodhisattvas in chapter 24 of the Saddharma-pundarīka-sūtra (ed. Dutta 297) devoted to the miracles of Avalokiteśvara. The reading of Ji and Ko can be reconstructed as Dharanīmīdhareśvara “the master of bodhisattva Dharanīmīdhara”.

(20) Ji vimalāmala-mūrtte re, Ko vimalāmala-mūrtte (without *re*).

Amala is pure, clean, shining, Amalā is Lakṣmī (Medinī-kośa 1.59, PW), Amala-garbha is a bodhisattva in the Mahāvyutapatti 710, Daśabhūmika 2.12. Compare Lotus Sūtra 140.8 *maya praptam nirvānam amalam sivam*, 452.4 *amaldmala-nirmala-prabhā* (-bhā for-bhā is long metri causa).

(21) Bh Am are corrupt beyond redemption. Ji and Ko replace it by Lokeśvara: *ehy-ehi Lokeśvara*.

Prof. C.N. Tay writes “it is interesting to note that the two corresponding Chinese characters alongside *cinda* in T 1113B itself read something like *si-na* instead, which goes to show the extent of the corruption. All other versions also have *si-na*. Amoghavajra in his annotation (T 1111) explains it as the black serpent used as a thread”. The two Chinese characters *si-na* alongside *cinda* and Amoghavajra’s explanation that it is the black serpent used as a thread leads us to the following restoration:

Siddham	<i>cinda</i>	<i>Zarṣam</i>	<i>pracali</i>
Am comm.	<i>si-na</i>	black serpent	thread
Restoration	<i>kṛṣṇa-</i>	<i>sarpa-</i>	<i>upavīta</i>

It means that Nīlakantha wears the black (*kṛṣṇa*) serpent (*sarpa*) as His sacred thread (*upavīta*). The transcription seems to have been done from a frayed and illegible Sanskrit manuscript. The annotation of Amoghavajra (T 1111) that the black serpent is used as a thread refers to this fact in un-mistakeable and clear terms. *Sarpa* was written as

  which became confused as *Zarṣam*. The initial stroke of *sa*  was misread as the figure 2 and  *rpa* was misread as  *rṣa*. *ehi-ehi kṛṣṇa-sarpa-upavīta/viṣam-viṣam prapāśaya/* ‘come, come, Thou with the black serpent as the sacred thread. Destroy every poison’. This makes a logical sentence and presents a coherent text. The black serpent is an antidote to all poisons. The compound *kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavīta* occurs

in the version of Vajrabodhi (T 1061). This epithet of Avalokiteśvara, *kṛṣṇa-sarpa-apavīta*, is also found in the Tattva-saṅgraha, translated into Chinese by Dānapāla between A.D. 1012-1015 (Taisho 882:18.341a1-445b10).

(22) Bh Am *praśaya*, wherein ṣā of *pra[pa]śaya* has been missed by oversight. Ji Ko have a fuller reading *rāga-viṣam vīṇāsaya/ dveṣa-viṣam vīṇāsaya/ moha-jāla-viṣam vīṇāsaya/*

Rāga 'desire', dveṣa 'aversion', avidyā or moha 'ignorance' are the three poisons, Tib. *dug grum* ( see Keith Dowman, Masters of Mahāmudrā:songs and histories of the eightyfour Siddhas, New York, State University of New York Press, 1985:426).

The three poisons of rāga, dveṣa and moha also occur in the 24th chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra on Avalokiteśvara (ed. Dutt p. 290).

(23) Am *hulu Hare*, Ji Ko *hulu Hare Padmanābha*.

(24) Ko *buddhya-buddhya*.

(25) Compare maitra-locana, maitra-mana (Dutt 295) and sarva-sattva-kṛpā-maitra-locanah (Dutt 296) in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra.

(26) Ko adds *kāmasya* before *darśanena*.

(27) Bh Am Chin *paya*, Siddham *pasa* = p[rah]lada] ya.

(28) Bh Am Chin *maranara* is corrupted from *Varāha-mukhāya*. Ji *maranara-mukha*, Ko *varāhamukha*.

(29) Ji Ko omit *svāhā*.

(30) Chin *sira* for *nara* is a corruption due to mis-hearing of the recitation and/or misreading of a frayed manuscript. Ji Ko *siṁha-mukhāya*.

Ji and Ko have the compact reading *varāha-mukha-siṁha-mukhāya svāhā* instead of *varāha-mukhāya svāhā/ narasiṁha-mukhāya svāhā/*

(31) Bh Am have different transcriptions and the word is distorted in both of them.

(32) Ko *cakrāyudhāya*.

(33) Ji omits *svāhā*.

(34) Bh Am clearly read *padma-hastāya*, but Ji Ko *śaṅkha-sabda-nibodhanāya*.

(35-35) The two *svāhā* are replaced in Ji and Ko by: *mahālakuta-dharāya svāhā/ vāma-skandha-deśa-sthita-kṛṣṇ-ājīnāya svāhā/ vyāghra-carma-nivasanāya svāhā/*

*vyāghra* refers to the prowess of Nīlakanṭha as in the Sanskrit compound *puruṣa-vyāghra*. It is confirmed by the following word *mahābali-Śaṅkarāya*, where *mahābali* means "exceedingly strong, very powerful or mighty, very efficacious" (MW).

(36) Am adds *bodhi*, perhaps an oversight.

(37) Bh adds *otī siddhyantu mantra-padāni svāhā//*, Ji adds *samāpta//*.

TEXT OF BHAGAVADDHARMA (T 1060)

The pronunciation of Chinese characters is as current in the Zen monasteries of Japan. The Sanskrit equivalents are given in the second line. The text has to be read right to left and top to bottom.

<b>喇</b>	ri	r	batsu	bha	ta	t	ro	lo	na	na
<b>嚩</b>	ya	yā	hi	ye	ba	vā	kat	ki	mu	ma
<b>十</b>	10		8		ya	ya	te	te	katsu	ḥ
<b>婆</b>	ba	va	su	su	5		shi	s	ra	ra
<b>廣</b>	ro	lo	ta	t	ma	ma	patsu	va	ta	t
<b>吉</b>	kit	ki	ha	na	ka	hā	ra	ra	na	na
<b>帝</b>	te	te	ta	ta	ka	kā	ya	ya	ta	t
<b>室</b>	shib	ś	sha	sya	ro	ru			ra	ra
<b>佛</b>	bur	va	9		ni	pī	bo	bo	ya	yā
<b>羅</b>	ra	ra	na	na	ka	kā	dai	dhi	ya	ya
<b>嚩</b>	ryo	s	mu	ma	ya	ya	sat	sat	l	
<b>嚩</b>	da	ta	shik	s	6		ta	t	na	na
<b>駄</b>	ba	ya	ki	k	om	om̄	ba	vā	mu	ma
<b>婆</b>	11		ri	r	7		ya	ya	a	ā
<b>十一</b>			satsu	ta			4		ri	r
<b>南</b>	na	na	i	i			ma	ma	ya	yā
<b>無</b>	mu	m	mon	maṇ	sab	sar	ma	ma		
<b>那</b>	na	Nī	a	ā	ba	va	ka	hā		
					ra		sat	sat	ba	va

<b>提薩埵三十薩婆薩婆四十摩羅摩羅五十摩醯</b>	dai dhi sat sat ta ta <sup>23</sup> sab sar la pa sab sar ba pa <sup>24</sup> ma ma ra la ma ma ra la <sup>25</sup> ma ma kai -	<b>九盧迦帝二十迦羅帝二十一夷醯哩二十摩訶菩</b>	ro lo ka kā te ti <sup>20</sup> ka k ra rān te te <sup>21</sup> i hi kai Ha ri re <sup>22</sup> ma ma ka hū bo bo	ga ga 16 ma ma bi vi toku dha sa - 17 ta tad re dya ta thā 18 om om a a ba va ro lo ke ke <sup>19</sup>	<b>伽十六摩罰特豆十七怛姪他十八唵阿婆盧醯十</b>	a a ta tha sa dha rin sū ho bhūmī <sup>14</sup> a a i je ta yām <sup>15</sup> sab sar ba va sat sat ta t na nā ma m ba bha	<b>阿他豆輸朋十四阿逝孕十五薩婆薩哆那摩婆</b>	a a ta tha sa dha rin sū ho bhūmī <sup>14</sup> a a i je ta yām <sup>15</sup> sab sar ba va sat sat ta t na nā ma m ba bha	<b>囉謹墀十二醯哩摩訶皤哆沙咩十三薩婆</b>	ra la kin kan di tha <sup>12</sup> ke h ri t ma m ka - banvar ta ta sa sā moyo mi <sup>13</sup> sab sar ba va
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那 七	三十	罰 磨 囉	地 利 尼	罰 闍 耶	摩 醯 唎
na	37	bi vi ma ma ra la	ji dha ri ra ni ni	bi vi sha ja ya ya	ma ma ke h ri !
a					
ra					
san					
butsu		boku mūt te te re re	shib s bur va ra rā ya ya	ma ma ka hā bi vi sha ja ya ya	26 ku ku ro ru ku ku ro ru katsu kar
ra					
sha					
ri					
38					
bi vi		i e ka hi i e	32 33	te te da dha ra ra da dha ra ra	mom main 27 do dhu ro ru do dhu ro ru
sha sa		ka hi	34		
bi vi		35	36		
san sam		37	38		
39		39	40		
butsu p		shi na shi	ma ma ma ma	ma ma ra ra	ro ru

<b>摩那</b>	ma ma na nah	<b>利夜</b>	ri ri ya ya	<b>五菩</b>	bo bo dai dhi ya ya bo bo dai dhi ya ya	<b>四十</b>	sa sa ra ra sa sa ra ra	<b>羅舍耶</b>	ra ra sha sha ya ya
<b>五十婆婆訶</b>	51 sa s ba va ka ha	<b>四十那囉謹墀</b>	48 na Ni ra la kin kap ci tha	<b>菩提夜菩提夜</b>	46 bo bo da dha ya ya bo bo da dha ya ya	<b>三四十</b>	42 si si ri ri si si ri ri	<b>呼嚦呼嚦</b>	40 ko hu ro lu ko hu ro lu
<b>五十悉陀夜</b>	52 shid sid da dha ya ya	<b>四十地唎瑟尼那五十波夜</b>	49 di da ri r sha sa ni nc na na 50 ha p ya ya	<b>四十菩駄夜菩駄夜</b>	47 bo bo da dha ya ya bo bo da dha ya ya	<b>四十悉利</b>	43 so so ro ro so so ro ro	<b>摩羅四十呼嚦</b>	41 ma ma ra la ro lu ko hu ro lu ko hu ro lu ka Ha ri re
<b>三十婆婆訶</b>	53 sa s ba va ka ha			<b>四十彌帝</b>	48 mi mai te t	<b>十四蘇嚦蘇嚦</b>	44 su su ru ru su su ru ru	<b>嚦嚦嚦嚦嚦嚦</b>	
<b>五十摩那</b>	54 ma ma					<b>十四</b>	45		

詞 六 十 者 吉 囉 阿 悉 陀 夜 六 十 婆 婆 詞 九 十 波 陀	ka ha 67 sha ca ri k ra ra a ha shid s da ta ya ya 68 sa s ba va ka ha shid s da ta ya ya 69 ha pa da d	四 六 十 婆 婆 詞 五 六 十 婆 婆 摩 阿 悉 陀 夜 六 十 婆 婆	64 sa s ba va ka ha 65 sab ba pa ma ma ka ha a shid s da ta ya ya 66 sa s ba va	一 摩 囉 那 囉 六 十 婆 婆 詞 二 六 十 婆 婆 摩 阿 悉 陀 夜 六 十 婆 婆	ma ma ra ra na na ra ra 62 sa s ba va ka ha 63 shitsu Na ra ra so sim a ha boku mu kyo kha ya ya	囉 耶 八 十 婆 婆 詞 五 十 那 囉 謹 墀 六 十 婆 婆 詞 十 六	ra ra ya ya sa s ba va ka ha 59 na Ni ra la kin kan ci tha 60 sa s ba va ka ha 61	詞 悉 陀 夜 五 十 婆 婆 詞 五 十 悉 陀 喻 藝 五 十 室 蟠	ka ha shid sid da dha ya ya 55 sa s ba va ka ha 56 shid sid da dha yu yo ge ge 57 shib si ba va
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<b>十</b>	<b>唵悉殿都曼哆囉鉢默耶</b>	<b>一</b>	<b>摩羯悉哆夜七十娑婆訶</b>	<b>二</b>	<b>摩羯悉哆夜七十娑婆訶</b>
om	oṁ	ya ya	ka hā	ya ya	ma ma
shid	sid	77	75	72	katsu ha
den	dhyān	ba va	na na	sa s	shit s
to	tu	ro lo	mu ma	ba vā	ta tā
man	man	kit ki	katsu h	ka ha	ya ya
ta	t	te te	ra ra	73	70
ra	ra	78	tan t	ma ma	sa s
ha	pa	shib i	na na	ba ba	ba vā
da	dā	ba va	ta t	ti li	ka hā
ya	ni	ra rā	ra ra	sho shāh	71
81		ya ya	ya yā	katsu ka	na Ni
sa	s	79	ya ya	ra rā	ra la
ba	vā		76	ya ya	kin kan
ka	hā	sa s	na na	ci tha	ci tha
82		ba vā	mu ma	ba vyā	ga gh
L		ka hā	a ā	sa s	ra rā
		80	ri r	ba vā	

## TEXT OF AMOGHAVAJRA (T 1113B)

Hereafter is the Chinese transliteration and interlinear Siddham text of the *Ta ts'eu ta pei kieon k'ou kouan she yin tseu tsai wang p'ou sa kouang ta yuan man wou ngai tseu tsai ts'ing king ta pei sin t'o lo ni* (Hob. 1113b) from the Taisho edition. The pronunciation of the Chinese characters follows the current practice in Chinese monasteries. The romanisation is taken from a daily prayer book published by the H.K. Buddhist Book Distributor, 390 King's Road, Hongkong. The text of the Taisho (T) edition and the Hongkong hymnal differ in the separation of words: the T has 74 numbers while the Hongkong text is divided into 80. There are some differences in the Chinese characters used in the two prints. The Hongkong print ends with *om siddha-mantra-paditya svāhā* which is not found in T.

The use of  (= dhi) in the transliteration of *dharani-rāja* (nos. 29, 30) indicates that the transliterator wanted to use a character which foreshadowed the meaning of *dharani* 'earth'.

This text is almost a commented repetition (with minor variations) of that of Bhagavaddharma. Amoghavajra transcribed the hymn anew with entirely different Chinese characters. The latter text (T 1111) is also reproduced later on.

<p>摩訶薩埵婆嚩五</p>	<p>mo ma ho hä sa sat do t po vä ya ya 5</p>	<p>婆盧羯帝爍鉢囉嚩三</p>	<p>po va lu lo ji ki de te so bu bu va la ra ya ya 9</p>	<p>南無喝羅怛那哆羅夜嚩一</p>	<p>na na mo ma ha la da no do la ya ya ya ya 1</p>	<p>南無阿唎嚩二</p>	<p>na na</p>
<p>摩訶迦噦呢迦嚩六</p>	<p>mo ma ho hä ja kā lu ru ne ni ja kā ya ya 6</p>	<p>菩提薩哆婆嚩四</p>	<p>poo bo te dhi sa sat do po va ya ya ya 4</p>		<p>mo mo o a le r ya 2</p>		

醯利摩皤哆沙咩十三	she h le r mo m ho var do ta so pa me mi 13	婆盧吉帝室佛榜歌婆十一 sa sar po va a a to tha der — soo su pon bham 14	po va lu lo ji ki de te su s fu va lan ram to ta po va na na na na mo ma shi s ji k le r do t e i mon main o a le r ya ya 12	數怛那怛寫九 na na mo ma 南無悉吉牒埵伊蒙阿唎耶十 na na mo m no na la la jin kin tse di 10	唵七 an om 7
薩皤囉罰曳八					薩皤囉罰曳八 sa sar bu va la — fa bha shch ye 8

### Text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B)

**Text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B)**

地	॒	sa	dha	摩	॑	mo	ma	俱	॒	ju	ku	薩	॒	sa	sar
利	॒	le	ra	訶	॒	ho	hā	噦	॒	lu	ru	婆	॒	po	pa
尼	॒	ne	mī	罰	॒	fa	vi	俱	॒	ju	ku	薩婆	॒	sa	sar
九	॒			闍	॒	sa	ja	噦	॒	lu	ru	三	॒	po	pa
二	॒			耶	॒	ya	ya	俱噦	॒	ji	kar	十	॒		
十	॒	29		帝	॒	de	te	羯	॒	mon	thāmī		॒		23
				同二上	॒			蒙	॒				॒		
				十七	॒			五	॒				॒		
					陀	॒	to	度	॒	doo	dhu	摩	॒	nho	ma
	॒			羅	॒	la	ra	噦	॒	lu	ru	羅	॒	la	la
驪	॒	la	rā	陀	॒	to	dha	度噦	॒	doo	dhu	摩羅	॒	mo	ma
耶	॒	ya	ja	羅	॒	la	ra	度噦	॒	lu	ru	摩羅	॒	la	la
三十	॒	30		陀羅	॒	la	ra	罰	॒	fa	vi	摩	॒	mo	ma
				八	॒			闍	॒	sa	ja	醯	॒	mo	ma
				二	॒			耶	॒	ya	ya	唎	॒	she	h
				十	॒			帝	॒	de	te	駄	॒	le	i
					二	॒		六	॒			孕	॒	to	da
					上	॒		二十	॒			同二十四	॒	yuin	yam
						॒			四	॒				24	

Text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B)

罰沙罰參佛羅舍耶三十	室那室那同上	穆帝嚩三十	遮囉遮嚩三十
罰沙罰參佛羅舍耶三十	室那室那同上	穆帝嚩三十	遮囉遮嚩三十
呼噓呼噓	阿羅參佛羅舍利三十	伊醯移醯三十	摩甲受持
八	la	la	la
38	35	33	31
罰摩羅三十	罰摩羅三十	罰摩羅三十	罰摩羅三十
fa vi	su s	mo mūr	dzo ca
so sa	no na	de te	la la
fa vi	su s	le re	dzo ca
sun sam	no na		la la
fu pa			
la ra			
so sa			
ya ya			
37			
hoo hu	la sun	ce	mo ma
lu lu		she hi	mo ma
hoo hu	fu la	ce	
lu hu		she hi	
mo ma	so		
la la	le		
38	36	34	32

Text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B)

<b>彌 帝 耶 五 四 十</b> me mai de te le ri ya ya 45	<b>菩 提 耶 菩 提 耶 三 十</b> poo bo te dhi ya ya 2 poo bo te dhi ya ya 43	<b>悉 唎 悉 唎 一 四 十</b> shi si le ri shi si le ri 41	<b>呼 噦 醯 耶 三 九</b> hoo hu lu lu she Ha le re 同上 39
<b>那 囉 隨 涅 六 四 十</b> no na la la jien kin tse di 46	<b>菩 提 耶 菩 提 耶 四 十</b> poo bo te dha ya ya 2 poo bo te dha ya ya 44	<b>蘇 噦 蘇 噦 二 四 十</b> soo su lu ru soo su lu ru 42	<b>沙 囉 沙 囉 四 十</b> sa la ra so sa la ra 40

Text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B)

<b>室 毘 伽 羅 耶</b> 53	摩 訶 悉 陀 夜 婆 婆 訶	mo ma ho ha shi sid to dha ya ya so s po va ho ha	悉 陀 夜 九 四 十	shī sid to dha ya ya 51	他 喇 瑟 尼 那 波 夜 摩 那 七 四 十	sa da le su ga ne ne no na poo p ya ya mo ma no na 47
<b>婆 婆 訶 三 五 十</b> 54	悉 陀 喻 藝 二 十	shi sid to dha yu yo ye ge 52	婆 婆 訶 法 語 五 十	so s po va ho ha 50	婆 婆 訶 同 上	so s po va ho ha 48

Text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B)

婆 摩 訶 悉 陀 夜 同上 六十一	波 麻 哈 尸 阿 穆 佉 耶 九十五	波 羅 僧 阿 波 波 那 羅 七 十	波 羅 那 羅 七 十	那 羅 謹 墀 同上 五十五
婆婆 訶 同上 六十二	婆婆 訶 同上 六十一	婆婆 訶 同上 五十八	婆婆 訶 同上 五十八	婆婆 訶 六 十

Text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B)

摩 婆 嚩 勝 羯 夜 <small>同上六十九</small>	彌 羅 謹 墀 迦 羅 <small>夜同上六十七</small>	婆 摩 羯 悉 哆 夜 <small>五六十</small>	者 吉 囉 阿 悉 陀 <small>夜同上六十一</small>
mo ma po ba le li sun iān jī kar ya ya <small>69</small>	no na la la ji en kin tse di bu vya chia gh la rā ya ya <small>67</small>	po pa mo ma ji ha shi to ya ya <small>65</small>	ja da ji ki la ra o ha shi s do ta ya ya <small>63</small>
娑婆 詞 𠙴 七十	娑婆 詞 𠙴 六十八	娑婆 詞 𠙴 六十六	娑婆 詞 𠙴 六十四
so s po va ho hā <small>70</small>	so s po vā ho hā <small>68</small>	so s po vā ho hā <small>66</small>	so s po vā ho hā <small>64</small>

<p>南無喝囉怛那多羅夜耶 一七十</p> <p>71</p>	<p>南無阿唎耶 二七十</p> <p>72</p>	<p>婆噦吉帝三十 73</p>	<p>燦皤囉耶四十 四十七十 菩提娑婆呵 74</p>
<p>青頸觀音陀羅尼一卷</p>			

System of transliteration in the text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B)

om	唵	kra	吉	t	垂	tvā	哆婆
a	阿		囉	ta	驮		
a	阿	khā	佉	ta	哆	tvā	婆
i	伊	ga	伽	ta	垂	tha	陀
r	利	ge	𠂔	ta	怛	thā	他
e	伊	gh	迦	ta	哆	da	驮
c	移	ca	者	ta	陀	da	他
k	迦	ca	遮	tī	帝	di	墀
ka	迦	ja	闍	te	帝	dya	姪
kar	羯	ja	耶			dha	陀
kā	迦	je	遊	tma	怛那	dha	提
ki	吉	na	那			dha	豆
ki	羯	na	那	tra	哆羅	dha	陀
kin	謹	ni	尼	tra	多羅	dhi	提
ku	俱	nū	尼			dhi	菩
ke	醯	t	怛	tri	帝喇	dhu	度

System of transliteration in the text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B)

na	南	na	麁	ra	利	li	唎
na	那	main	蒙	ram	楞	lu	噦
nā	那	mi	咩	rā	羅	lo	噦
ne	尼	mu	穆	rā	囉	lo	盧
pa	婆	mūr	穆	ri	唎	va	婆
pa	波	mai	彌	ru	噦	va	縛
pra	佛羅	mo	無	re	唎	va	幡
		ya	耶	re	嚩	va	佛
ba	婆	ya	嚩	ryā	唎嚩	var	幡
bo	菩	ya	夜		嚩嚩	vi	罰
bha	罰	yam	孕	ryā	唎孕	vyā	幡
bham	朋	yā	夜		唎耶	s	室
bhū	菩	ye	曳	rsa	唎曳	sa	舍
mī	無	yo	喯		唎瑟	sañ	勝
mī	摩	ra	囉	la	羅	su	輸
ma	摩	ra	羅	la	囉	so	特

System of transliteration in the text of Amoghavajra (T 1113B0)

sva	燦鉢	悉曇	喝	
		僧	鹽	
sva	燦皤	蘇	羯	
		悉吉嚙	阿	
sva	室皤	悉嚙	訶	
		嚙	𠵼	
s	室	悉嚙	訶	
sa	沙	悉嚙	鹽	
śam	參	寫	夷	
su	數	婆	呼	
s	悉	婆婆	鹽	
sa	沙	喝	咧	
sat	薩	鹽		
sar	薩			

## SECOND TEXT OF AMOGHAVAJRA (T 1111)

This is another transliteration of the Hymn by Amoghavajra, which is reproduced in the Taisho edition 1111:20.489-490 from a manuscript of the Kyoho period from the Toyama (or Fusan) Daigaku. Its transcription differs radically from that of T 1113B. It is entitled *Ts'ing king kouan tseu tsai p'ou sa sin t'o lo ni king* (Hob. 1111). The T 1113B is based on the transliteration of Bhagavaddharma, but with a commentary and ritual instructions by Amoghavajra. The variants are minor and they can even be due to copying errors. The T 1111 is a new transliteration where the very first word *name* has different characters in the two versions. The title of T 1111 gives prominence to Nilakantha, and in fact begins with Him 青頸. There is no Chinese exegesis in the transcribed text.

At the end is the word *vajra-shang* “vajrayana” (vajra is written in Siddham, *shang*=yana in Chinese). It is the earliest mention of Vajrayana, for Amoghavajra lived 705-774 var. 770.

No. 111

◎青頸觀自在菩薩心陀羅尼經

爾時世尊於毘沙門天王宮。說觀自在菩薩往昔因緣。過去無量無邊阿僧祇劫。有佛名觀照觀察如來。成佛道已住二十七日說法。臨涅槃時。有一天子名曰越那羅延力。爾時如來爲彼說此青頸觀自在菩薩心真言。時彼天子纔聞。獲得大悲三摩地作是願言。所有一切衆生。若有怖畏厄難。聞我名者皆得離苦解脫。速證無上正等菩提。寧一稱觀自

在菩薩名字號。不稱百千諸恒沙如來名。爾時世尊復告毘沙門天王言。當知此天子。於我滅度後以此心真言流轉。廣作佛事利益無邊衆生。安置無上菩提之道。陀羅尼曰。

相傳言。每入道場時。先跏趺懶懈發願已。結跏趺坐。卽精淨三業印及智真言。次結三部護身印已。卽結後根本印誦真言七遍。頂上放印。然捲珠或百或千依時持。

### 大興善寺三藏沙門大廣智不空奉

#### 詔注釋義

曩譏引羅怛曩二合怛羅二合夜引也三寶曩莫稽首阿去引里也二合嚩路引枳帝引濕嚩二合嚩引也聖觀自在臂引地薩怛嚩二合也摩賀引薩怛嚩二合也摩訶引迦引嚩泥迦也大悲者薩嚩滿上駄曩砌引娜姥刺迦羅引斯也能斷一切薩嚩婆去嚩三有娑闍訥嚩二合醋灑擎上迦羅也龍燭三有海薩

嚩弭也二合地鉢羅二合捨曩曩迦羅也

令息一切疾病

薩吠底庾二合鉢捺囉二合嚩尾曩引捨曩迦羅

也能斷一切災過 薩嚩婆引曳引數怛囉二合拏

也救濟怖畏 怛寫曩莫娑訖哩二合怛嚩二合伊娜曩

引哩也二合嚩路引枳帝引濕嚩二合羅我今禮彼聖觀自在

多嚩頓引嚩塞綻勅諫反 奪摩引紇哩二合乃也

二合聖者青心真言 妥嚩多以灑二合弭我今 薩四嚩他利益說

娑駄南輸上一作蒲 國反 一切利 阿逝慈際 四間薩

嚩步引去多南於諸鬼神得勝 婆縛沫喫誠尾戍駄劍

本能淨三有道 但爾也二合他所謂亦云卽說 哗意輪釋在如 阿路計光明

阿志路迦麼底光明慧 路迦引底訖嚩二合帝超世 听

嚩嚩賀魔慶哉 嘘賀引肩地薩怛嚩二合係肩師子

引地薩怛嚩二合鉢哩二合也肩引地薩怛嚩

二合慶哉於係迦嚩引撝迦娑麼二合羅訖哩二合  
 四敏善薩乃閻慶哉大悲憶四嚩引賀嚩阿哩也二合嚩路  
 枳帝濕嚩二合嚩王親自在摩係引濕嚩二合羅自  
 在跋羅摩每怛羅二合唧多界勝麼賀引迦嚩撝  
 迦者大悲矩嚩羯摩作復作事業娑駄也娑駄也尾塗  
 明成就禰嚩引與禰嚩引與禰嚩銘嚩噬與我迦  
 引後禰嚩引與禰嚩引與禰嚩銘嚩噬與我迦  
 引憎引識①底所希尾②怛識麼<sub>意</sub>告如尾識麼<sub>願</sub>悉  
 駄裕引儻引竟濕嚩二合嚩成就喩度嚩度嚩尾  
 演底住持遊摩訶引尾演底大遊駄羅駄羅駄連  
 引捺連二合濕嚩二合嚩持復持帝左擺左擺動尾  
 勒擺引四麼擺沒哩二合帝勁搖離垢身阿去哩也  
 路枳帝濕嚩二合嚩引爾曩訖哩二合史擎  
 稟觀自在善薩角惹<sub>四</sub>吒<sub>四</sub>終矩吒去引嚩覺摩鉢羅  
 四格披鹿皮衣

二合覽摩頭冠瓔珞垂諸華蓋摩賀引悉駄尾爾也二合駄羅

大成就持摩羅引摩羅引摩賀引摩羅沫羅沫羅  
明佛

摩賀引沫羅內垢外垢大無垢左羅左羅摩賀左羅勤復

勸無訖哩二合史擎二合鞞囉二合擎訖哩二合史擎

二合博乞瀧二合涅伽去多上髮龍推黑係引

摩賀引鉢納麼二合賀娑多二合度哉速華手左羅左羅

頸舍引左嚙引濕嚙二合羅行復行觀訖哩二合

史擎二合上薩波訖哩二合多上演女泥庾跋尾引

多黑蛇作細線噎醻去引四摩賀引嚙囉引賀穆怯來來大猪

頭底哩二合補囉那賀寧引濕嚙二合羅梵燒言宮自在者

曩羅引也擎嚙引跋引摩羅吠引誠駄引哩引持  
延力形力係頸引擺塞蛇青頸係引摩賀引賀引

持者擺引賀引擺尾瀧涅寧逸哩二合爾慈反多引度哉

擺引賀引擺尾瀧涅寧逸哩二合爾慈反多引度哉

大猛慈

勝者毒得路引羯寫羅引誠尾灑尾髮引捨○鞬除滅世間魔毒  
謨賀尾灑引尾髮引捨髮除滅世間魔毒戶嚙戶嚙摩羅  
戶嚙賀隸速疾蓮華摩賀鉢納摩髮引娑小呼師子王蓮花者  
觀自在菩薩即是薩羅薩羅蓮花悉哩悉哩○花蘇  
嚙蘇嚙蓮花頸沒地也二合沒地野二合所冒駄野  
冒駄野○弭帝係我令彼有情覺悟頰羅塞蛇曉鹽引咽  
轉引處娑體二合多僧去賀穆法上引未來左賀佳師子西娑  
娑上賀娑上笑悶左悶左故摩賀引吒吒上賀引

娑

去大訶  
訶笑

檼去四引暴引摩賀引悉駄裕去引儻濕

嚩

二合羅  
瑜伽自在者

婆上擎婆擎嚩引簪

作舍反  
說話也

娑駄

也娑駄也

引尾滌

成就成

娑麼二合羅娑

麼

二合羅據

婆去誠挽

無滿  
反

耽路枳多尾路枳耽

怛他去引蘖耽

大憶念憶念  
餘觀照觀察

也 娜娜引四銘薩嚩

薩怛嚩

二合喃與一切  
衆生

捺囉二合捨曩迦末寫捺

羅二合捨

喃鉢羅二合

賀羅二合娜也摩諾娑

嚩二合賀

引樂見者令  
見令意歡悅

悉駄也娑嚩二合賀

成就福  
智圓滿

摩賀

悉駄也

娑嚩二合賀

成就瑜伽自  
在者圓滿

二合羅也

娑嚩二合賀

成就瑜伽自  
在者圓滿

娑嚩

二合賀  
頸

嚩羅賀穆法去引也娑嚩二合

○賀

引大師子而  
福智圓滿

悉駄尾爾也 二合駄羅引也娑

嚩二合賀

成就持明  
福智圓滿

鉢納麼二合賀娑路二合也娑

嘴二合賀 蓮花手福智圓滿訖哩二合史擎二合薩跋訖哩  
 二合多上演女 尼庚反二合跋尾多也娑嚨二合賀 黑蛇作杖者  
線福德摩賀羅知吒駄羅引也娑嚨二合賀 持大杖者持福智圓滿  
 研訖羅二合庾駄引也娑嚨二合賀 持輪器使者賞法  
 攝娜二合額冒引駄引髮引也娑嚨二合賀 法螺覺智圓滿  
 嘴嚨婆塞二合駄禰捨婆體 以反二合池多訖哩二合  
 史擎二合爾髮引也娑嚨二合賀 左肩所住被黑鹿皮輪智圓滿尾  
 也二合伽羅二合拶嚨額嘴 薩髮引也娑嚨二合  
鹿皮者路計濕嘴二合羅也娑嚨二合賀 觀自在菩薩福德圓滿  
 滅薩嘴悉第濕嘴二合羅也娑嚨二合賀 一切成就自在  
 嚈談婆識嘴帝歸命阿哩也二合嘴路枳帝引濕  
 嘴二合羅也 聖觀音在菩薩嘴地薩怛嘴二合也摩訶薩  
相嘴二合也者勇猛摩賀迦嚨捉迦也者 大悲悉鉢

觀滿怛羅二合跋娜引也

真言句願成就娑隣二合賀引

百四一  
十

次當說此青頸觀自在菩薩畫像法。其像三面當前正面作慈悲熙怡貌。右邊作師子面。左邊作猪面。首戴寶冠。冠中有化無量壽佛。又有四臂。右第一臂執杖。第二臂執把蓮花。左第一執輪。左第二執螺。以虎皮爲裙。以黑鹿皮於左膊角絡。被黑蛇以爲神線。於八葉蓮花上立。瓔珞臂釧環光焰莊嚴其身。其神線從左膊角絡下。

其青頸印

二手外相叉。左大母指插入掌。右大母指直堅。一小指作蓮花葉形。二無名指直堅。二小指屈左抑。大堅相叉。

時寬延二己巳年七月 中旬一校了後哲得  
善本以質而令盡美矣

乘無等

## SUZUKI'S TRANSLATION

The translation of the hymn by Suzuki (1950:22-23) is reproduced below, followed by annotations. It is evident that he has relied on the Siddham text in Amoghavajra. He has missed the words of the dhāraṇī, which have led him to opine that it conveys no "intelligent signification". Besides, he has overlooked the structure of the dhāraṇī which is as follows:

1. Initial salutation
2. Resolve to recite the hymn (hrdaya). It has escaped the attention of Suzuki that it is a *stotra*.
3. Dhāraṇī proper, commencing with the classical phrase *tadyathā*.
4. Final salutation.

### DHĀRAṄI OF THE GREAT COMPASSIONATE ONE

Adoration to the Triple Treasure!

Adoration to Avalokiteśvara the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva who is the great compassionate one!

Om, to the one who performs a leap beyond all fears (1)!

Having adored him, may I enter into the heart of the blue-necked one known as the noble adorable Avalokiteśvara(2)! It means the completing of all meaning, it is pure(3), it is that which makes all beings victorious and cleanses the path of existence(4).

Thus:

Om, the seer, the world-transcending one!

O Hari the Mahabodhisattva!

All, all! (5)

(6) Defilement, defilement!

The earth, the earth!

It is the heart.(6)

Do, do the work!

Hold fast, hold fast!

O great victor!

(7) Hold on, hold on!

I hold on.

To Indra the creator (7)!

Move, move, my defilement-free seal!(8)  
Come, come!  
Hear, hear!  
A joy springs up in me!(9)  
Speak, speak! Directing!(10)  
Hulu, hulu, māla, hulu, hulu, hile!  
Sara, sara! siri, siri! suru, suru!  
Be awakened, be awakened!  
Have awakened, have awakened!(11)  
O merciful one, blue-necked one!  
Of daring ones, to the joyous, hail !(12)  
To the successful one, hail! (13)  
To the great successful one, hail!  
To the one who has attained mastery in the discipline, hail!(14)  
To the blue-necked one, hail!  
To the boar-faced one, hail!  
To the one with a lion's head and face, hail!(15)  
To the one who holds a weapon in his hand, hail!(16)  
To the one who holds a wheel in his hand, hail!(16)  
To the one who holds a lotus in his hand, hail!  
To the blue-necked far-causing one, hail!(17)  
To the beneficent one referred to in this Dhāraṇī beginning with "Namah", hail!(18)  
Adoration to the Triple Treasure!  
Adoration to Avalokiteśvara!  
Hail!  
May these [prayers] be successful!  
To this magical formula, hail!

(1) "To the one who performs a leap beyond all fears". Suzuki's translation is a bold attempt to render the Siddham text which is corrupt beyond recognition: *sarvarabhayeśudhana*. The correct text is: *serva-bhayeṣu trāṇa-harīya* "[salutation] to the one who protects from all fears".

(2) "May I enter into the heart of the blue-necked one known as the noble adorable Avalokiteśvara". Siddham reads: *imo aryāvalokitesivaram dhava namo narakidhi Herima vadhasame*. Correct text: *imam āryĀvalokitevara-stavanam Nilakantha-nāma/ hrdayam vartayissami* 'This is the name(-recitation) of Nilakantha sung by Avalokiteśvara. I will

recite the hymn...". The words *hydayam* etc. are part of a stanza which has been missed by Suzuki.

(3) "It means the completing of all meaning, it is pure". Siddham reads: *sarva athādu subhum*. Correct text: *sarv-arthā-sādhanam subham* "it promotes all aims and is auspicious". *Artha* 'meaning' is not applicable here.

(4) "It is that which makes all beings victorious and cleanses the path of existence". Siddham reads: *ajeyam sarva-bhutanama vagama vadudu*. Correct text: *ajeyam sarva-bhūtānām bhava-mārga-viśodhakam* "it is invincible, that is unsurpassed (*ajeya*), in cleansing the path of existence of all beings". Suzuki has missed the negative *a-* in *ajeya*, and the meaning has gone astray.

(5) Suzuki's "All, all" follows the Siddham text *sarva2*. Correct text: *sarpa-sarpa* "come, come". Oh condescend to come into my heart, oh Hari the Transcendent One. It expresses the yearning of the invoking devotee to be graced by the invoked divine.

(6-6) *Mala2* translated by Suzuki as 'defilement, defilement' should be *smara2* 'bear in mind2'. 'The earth, the earth' does not correspond to a Sanskrit expression. The correct reading is *smara-smara mama hydayam* 'bear in mind my heart-dhāraṇī'.

(7-7) *dhiripi-rāya* is rendered as 'I hold on. To Indra the creator'. Its correct Sanskrit is *dharanī-rāja* 'O Lord of the Earth'. 'I hold on' is a rendering of the misreading *dharani?* Indra has been adopted from another version. The whole sentence has been split up. The meaning of *dhar-dhara dharanī-rāja* 'hold, hold, Oh Lord of the Earth'.

(8) *Vimala-murti* is rendered as 'defilement-free seal'. The word *mūrti* (voc.) has been misunderstood as *mudre*. It refers to the immaculate manifestation (*mūrti*) of the Lord.

(9) *Sini-sini* in Chinese (Siddham cinda 2) has been rendered 'hear, hear', as if the correct Sanskrit was *śrīnu-śrīnu*. The misreading *arsam̄ pracali* has been forcibly given the meaning: "A joy springs up in me". *arsa* has been equated with *harsa*. We have discussed this reading earlier. *Ehy-ehi kṛṣṇa-sarp-opavīta* means "come, deign to come, oh Thou with the black serpent as Thy sacred thread".

(10) *Vasa-vasam̄ praśaya* is done into English as 'Speak! speak! Directing'. Its correct reconstruction is *vīśam̄ vīśam̄ pravaśaya* 'destroy every poison (of the senses)'.

(11) It means: "Be enlightened, be enlightened and then enlighten, enlighten".

(12) *Dharsinīna paśamana svāhā* is interpreted as 'of daring ones, to the joyous, hail'. *Dharsinīna* has been equated with *dharsanya*. The correct text *darśanena prahla-daya manah svāhā* 'gladden the mind by Your appearance, hail'.

(13) *Siddha* is not simply 'successful one' but one who has attained yogic siddhis, who is 'perfected, beatified, endowed with supernatural faculties (*siddhi*)' (MW.).

(14) Suzuki misses the full import of the words. Nīlakanṭha is the Lord of all Yogins who have attained the siddhis.

(15) Suzuki 'one with a lion's head and face' is not correct. It refers to Avalokiteśvara as having the face of Narasiṁha, an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

(16) The reading *pama* is not clear. Cakra is the divine discus to smite enemies and not a wheel.

(17) Suzuki: *vagaraya* 'far-causing one'. The new reconstruction means that Nīlakanṭha is endowed with the prowess of a tiger.

(18) Is *Mavarisankaya svāha* translated as "To the beneficent one referred to in this Dhāraṇī beginning with "Namah", hail"? The correct reading *Mahābali-Śaṅkarāya svāha* has eluded Suzuki because he could not expect the word Śaṅkara here.

#### REVISED TRANSLATION

1. Adoration to the Triple Gem. Adoration to Ārya Avalokiteśvara, bodhisattva, mahasattva, the Great Compassionate One. Om. Having paid adoration to One who protects in all dangers, here is the [recitation] of the names of Nīlakantha, as chanted by Ārya Avalokiteśvara.

2. I shall enunciate the 'heart' [dhāraṇī] which ensures all purposes, is pure and invincible for all beings, and which purifies the path of existence.

3. THUS. Om. Oh Effulgence, World-Transcendent, come oh Hari, the great bodhisattva, descend, descend. Bear in mind my heart-dhāraṇī. Accomplish, accomplish the work. Hold fast, hold fast, Victor, oh Great Victor. Hold on, hold on, oh Lord of the Earth. Move, move, oh my Immaculate Image. Come, come, Thou with the black serpent as Thy sacred thread. Destroy every poison. Quick, quick, oh Strong Being. Quick, quick, oh Hari. Descend, descend, come down, come down, condescend, condescend. Being enlightened enlighten me, oh merciful Nīlakanṭha. Gladden my heart by appearing unto me.

To the Siddha hail. To the Great Siddha hail. To the Lord of Siddha Yogins hail. To Nīlakanṭha hail. To the Boar-faced One hail. To One with the face of Narasiṁha hail. To One who has a lotus in His hand hail. To the Holder of a cakra in His hand hail. To One who sports a lotus(?) in His hand hail. To Nīlakanṭha the tiger hail. To the mighty Śaṅkara hail.

4. Adoration to the Triple Gem. Adoration to Ārya Avalokiteśvara, hail.

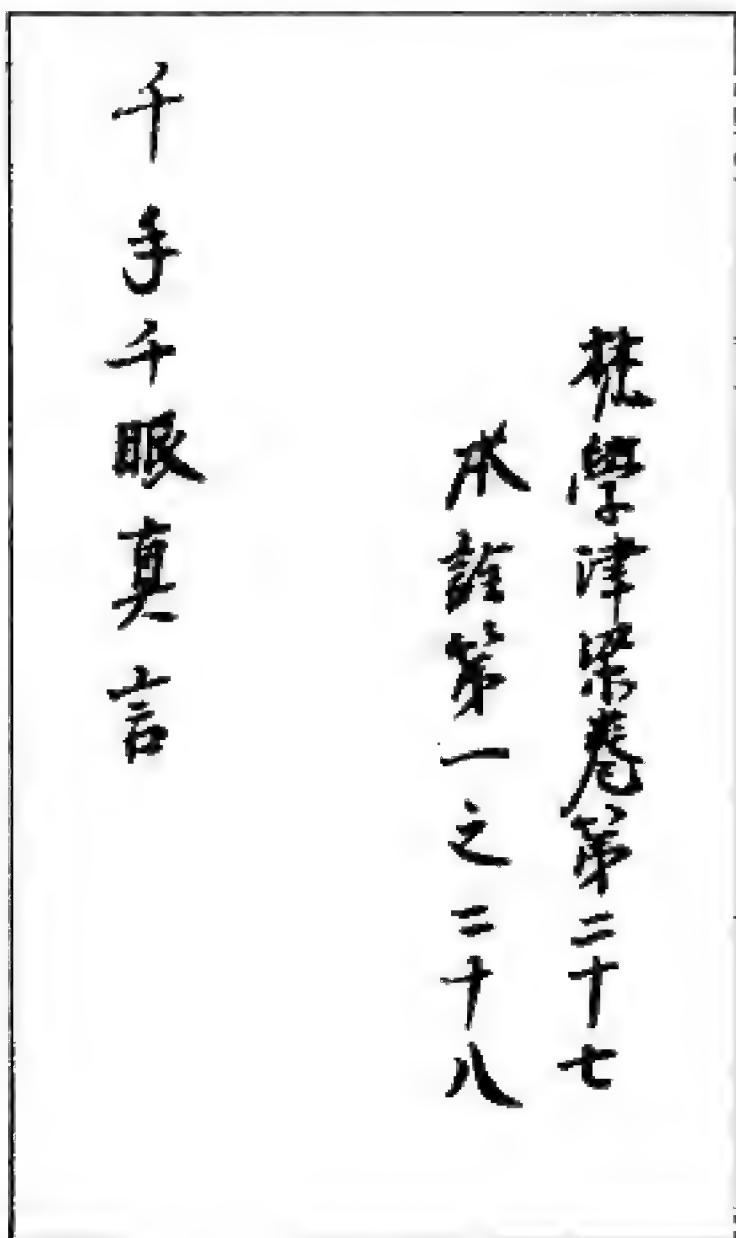
TEXT OF JI-UN SONJA

1. *namo ratna-trayāya/ nama āryĀvalokiteśvaraya bodhisatvāya mahāsatvāya mahā-kāruṇikāya/ Om sarva-bhayeṣu trāṇa-karāya tasya namaskṛtvā imāṁ āryĀvalokiteśvara-stavanam Nīlakanṭha-nāma/*

2. *hṛdayam vartayiṣyāmi servartha-sādhanām śubham/  
ajeyām sarva-bhūtānām bhava-mārga-vitodhakam//*

3. *TADYATHĀ/ Om avaloka e ālokapati atikrānta ehy-ehi Hare mahābodhisattva  
sarpa-sarpa/ smara-smara mama? hṛdayām/ kuru-kuru karma/ dhuru-dhuru vijayanta e  
mahāvijayanta e/ dhara-dhara dharapīndresvara-rāja/ cala-cala mama vimal-āmala-murtte  
re/ ehy-ehi Loketvara/ rāga-viṣām vinātaya/ dveṣa-viṣatī vināśaya/ moha-jāla-viṣām  
vināśaya/ hulu-hulu Mella/ hulu Hare Padmanābha/ sara-sara siri-siti suru-suru/ bodhiya-  
bodhiya bodhaya-bodhaya/ maitriya Nīlakanṭha/ darśanena prahlādaya manah svāhā/  
siddhaya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddhayogeśvarāya svāhā/ Nīlakanṭhāya  
svāhā/ Varāhamukha-simhamukhāya svāhā/ padma-hastāya svāhā/ cakra-hastāya [svāhā]/  
śāṅkha-śabda-nibodhanāya svāhā/ mahālakuṭa-dharāya svāhā/ vāma-skandha-deśa-sthita-  
kr̥ṣṇ-ūjīnāya svāhā/ vyāghra-carma-nivasanāya svāhā/*

4. *namo ratna-trayāya/ nama āryĀvalokiteśvaraya svāhā// samāptat/*



桔  
櫻  
津  
深  
源  
流  
行  
歌  
集  
卷  
之  
十七

本  
詮  
解  
卷  
之  
十八

牛  
舌  
牛  
歌  
真  
古

प्रभाव अति धर्म एव यः शुद्ध द्वय लक्ष्मी विष्णु रथ क  
वे शक्ति य दृष्टि दृष्टि मनुष्य र गण्डा य उमा देव  
नाथ अनुष्ठान दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि  
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दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि  
दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि दृष्टि

थ न क त म क व ल य ग र १ ३० त्रिल ल र व  
व ल व ल य म य व ल अ म ल य व ल ल ल  
प र र ग व ख क व व ग व व य व व व व व  
क व र व ख व व ख व व व व व व व व  
द व द व र द द द द द द द द द द  
प व व व व व व व व व व व व व  
क व व व व व व व व व व व व  
र व व व व व व व व व व व  
द व व व व व व व व व व व

正大王年丙辰九月四日金剛三昧院以

方丈御本書寫之了  
一文了

金剛佛子定惠四十六歲

文保三年己未四月廿五日奉傳受之了

享保十四歲在己酉閏九月七夜以无量壽院本

寫取功訖

金剛佛子真源一

安永二年癸巳四月於東西山善妙寺沙彌尼義文  
受法主 大味上住命而敬拜寫焉

韓文

## KOREAN TEXT IN TRANSCRIPTION

*Chon-su-hyong 'Thousand-hand Sūtra'*

- 1 namō ratnatarayāya (namo ratna-trayāya)
- 2 namak āryak (namah āryā)
- 3 barokijesaibarāya ('valokiteśvarāya)
- 4 mochisatabāya (bodhisattvāya)
- 5 mahasatabāya (mahāsattvāya)
- 6 mahakāronikaya (mahākārunikhāya)
- 7 om
- 8 sarba. bayesu (sarva-bhavesu)
- 9 taranākaraya. tasamyūng (trāṇa-karāya tasmai)
- 10 namak-karitaba. imam ārya (namaskṛtvā imam āryā)
- 11 barokijesaibara. taba ('valokiteśvara-stavam)
- 12 irakantta. namak. harinaya (Nilakantha-nāma hrdaya)
- 13 mābarta.isami (-m vartayisyāmi)
- 14 sarbartta sadanām suban (sarvārtha-sādhanaṁ subham)
- 15 ayeyam (ajeyam)
- 16 sarba.būtanam (sarva-bhūtānām)
- 17 babamar'a. misudakam (bhava-mārga-viśodhakam)
- 18 tannyatta (tadyathā)
- 19 om arokye (om āloka e)
- 20 arokamaji roka (ālokamati loka-)
- 21 jikaranje ('tikrānta e-)
- 22 hye hye. harye (hy-e-hi Hare)
- 23 mahamochisataba (mahābodhisattva)
- 24 samara samara (smara-smara)
- 25 harinaya (hydayam)
- 26 kuro. kuro. karma (kuru-kuru karma)
- 27 sādaya sadaya (sādhaya-sādhaya)
- 28 doro. doro. miyōnje (dhuru-dhuru vijayanta e)
- 29 maha.miyōnje (mahāvijayanta e)
- 30 dara dara (dhara-dhara)
- 31 darin 32 narye.saibara (dharanīmdhareśvara)

Korean text in transcription

- 33 *cara-cara* (*calo-cula*)  
34 *mara.mimara.amara.* (*malli vimala-amala-*)  
35 *marje* (*mürtte*)  
36 *ehyehye* (*ehy-ehi*)  
37 *rōkye.saibā.ra.rāya* (*Lokesvara rāga-*)  
38 *misamī.nāsaya* (*vīśāmī vināśaya*)  
39 *nabe.sami.sami.nasaya* (*dvesa-vīśāmī vināśaya*)  
40 *mōhajara.misamī.nasaya* (*moha-jāla-vīśāmī vināśaya*)  
41 *horōhoro* (*hulu-hulu*)  
42 *mara.horo Harye* (*malli hulu Hare*)  
43 *banama.naba* (*Padmanābha*)  
44 *sara-sara* (*sara-sara*)  
45 *siri-siri* (*siri-siri*)  
46 *soro-soro* (*suru-suru*)  
47 *motjya motjya* (*budhya-budhiya*)  
48 *modaya.modaya* (*bodhaya-bodhaya*)  
49 *maitariya* (*maitriya*)  
50 *nirakantta* (*Nīlakaṇṭha*)  
51 *kamasa.narsanam* (*kāmasya darianena*)  
52 *bara.hara.naya.mānak.* (*prahlādaya manah*)  
53 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
54 *siddaya* (*siddhāya*)  
55. *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
56 *mahasiddaya* (*mahāsiddhāya*)  
57 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
58 *siddayuye* 59 *saiba.raya* (*siddha-yogeśvarāya*)  
60 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
61 *nīra.kanttaya* (*Nīlakaṇṭhāya*)  
62 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
63 *baraha.mok.kha* (*varāhamukha*)  
64 *singhamokkkaya* (*śimhamukhāya*)  
65 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
66 *bōnama.halla.ya* (*padma-hastāya*)  
67 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
68 *cakarayoktaya* (*cakrāyudhāya*)

Korean text in transcription

- 69 *sabaha* (*svāhā*)  
70 *sangkkasūpnanye* 71 *modanaya* (*saṅkha-sabda-nibodhanāya*)  
72 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
73 *mahara.kutta.daraya* (*mahā-lakuta-dharāya*)  
74 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
75 *bamasakantta.īsa.sikheta* (*vāma-skandha-deśa-sthita-*)  
76 *karitna.inaya* (-*kr̥ṇ-ājīmāya*)  
77 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
78 *makara.carma* 79 *iba.sanaya* (*vyāghra-carma-nivasanāya*)  
80 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)  
81 *namō ra.danadara.yaya.* (*namo ratna-trayāya*)  
82 *namak arya* (*namah āryā*)  
ba.rokiye 83 *saiba.raya* ('*valokiteśvarāya*)  
84 *saba.ha* (*svāhā*)

## CONSTITUTED KOREAN TEXT

1. *Namo ratna-trayāya/ namah ary-Āvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākārunikāya/ Om sarva-bhayeṣu trāṇa-karāya tasmai namashrtvā imam āry-Āvaloki-teśvara-stavaṁ Nilakanṭha-nāma/*
2. *hṛdayām vartayiṣyāmi, sarv-ārtha-sādhanām śubham/ ajeyām sarva-bhūtānām, bhava-mṛgā-viśodhakam//*
3. *TADYATHĀ/ Om aśoka e ālokamati lokātikrānta ehy-ehi Hare mahābodhi-sattva/ smara-smara hṛdayam/ kuru-kuru karma/ sādhaya-sādhaya/ dhuru-dhuru vijayanta e mahāvijayanta e/ dhara-dhara dharanīdhareśvara/ cala-cala malla vimal-āmala-mūrtte/ ehy-ehi Lokeśvara/ rāga-viṣām vināśaya/ dueṣa-viṣām vināśaya/ moha-jāla-viṣām vināśaya/ hulu-hulu malla/ hulu Hare Padmanābha/ sara-sara siri-siri suru-suru/ budhyabudhya bodhaya-bodhaya maitriya Nilakanṭha/ kāmasya darśanena prahlādaya manah svāhā/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddha-yogeśvarāya svāhā/ Nilakanṭhāya svāhā/ varāhamukha-simhamukhāya svāhā/ padma-hastiāya svāhā/ cakr-āyudhāya svāhā/ saṅkha-sabda-nibodhanāya svāhā/ mahā-lakuta-dharāya svāhā/ vāma-skandha-deśasthita-kṛṣṇ-ājīnatāya svāhā/ vyāghra-carma-nivasanāya svāhā//*
4. *namo ratna-trayāya/ namah āry-Āvalokiteśvarāya svāhā//*

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In Korean t and d are identical in writing. The distinction in transcription follows Sanskrit pronunciation.

The reading of nos. 10-12 shows a reading probably corrected in ancient times: *idam āryāvalokiteśvara tava Nilakanṭha namah*.

The initial n has been dropped in two instances: 12 irakantta=Nilakanṭha, and 79 iba.sanaya=nivasanāya. It is due to an original written in the Sogdian script where initial ni could be read i if the dot of nasalisation was omitted.

Reincarnation of  
Avalokiteśvara



Avalokiteśvara



Avalokiteśvara



신묘장구대다라니 (화천수)

mo 모 ji 지

sa 사 ta 다 ba 바

ya 야 (4句)

ba 바 ro 로

ki 기 je 제 sai 새 ba 바

ra 라 (3句)

na 나 mak 막

är 알 yak 약 (2句)

ta 다 na 나 ta 타 ra 라

na 나 mō 모

ra 라 (3句) ta 타 ta 타 ra 라 ya 야 (1句)

Korean text from a hymnal

Vaiśravapa	ghost	Aśvaghoṣa	Avalokiteśvara
			
sar 살 १	om 음 ३	ma 마 ५	ma 마 ५
ba 바 २	(h)	ha 하 ४	ha 하 ४
.	.	kā 가 ६	sa 사 ८
ba 바 २	.	ro 로 ७	ta 타 ९
ye 예 ४	.	ni 니 ८	bā 바 १
su 수 ५	(h)	ka 가 ६	ya 야 ५
		ya 야 ६	(h)

Korean text from a hymnal

Vairocana	Rocana	Nāgārjuna	gandharva
			
i 이 ॒ ॥	ba 바 ॒ ॥	na 나 ॒ ॥	ta 다 ॒ ॥
ra 라 ॒ ॥	ro 로 ॒ ॥	mak 막 ॒ ॥	rā 나 ॑ ॥
kan 간 ॒ ॥	ki 기 ॒ ॥	ka 가 ॒ ॥	nā 리 ॑ ॥
tta 타 ॑ ॥	je 제 ॒ ॥	ri 리 ॑ ॥	ga 가 ॒ ॥
.	.	ta 타 ॒ ॥	ra 라 ॒ ॥
na 나 ॒ ॥	sai 새 ॒ ॥	ba 바 ॒ ॥	ya 야 ॒ ॥
mak 막 ॒ ॥	ba 바 ॒ ॥	i 이 ॒ ॥	.
.	ra 라 ॒ ॥	mam 맘 ॒ ॥	da 다 ॒ ॥
ha 하 ॒ ॥	.	ār 알 ॒ ॥	sa 사 ॒ ॥
ri 리 ॒ ॥	ta 다 ॒ ॥	ya 야 ॒ ॥	myōng 명 ॑ ॥
na 나 ॒ ॥	ba 바 ॒ ॥	(10句)	(9句)
ya 야 ॒ ॥	(11句)		
(12句)			

Korean text from a hymnal

Bhakti! devaraja yakṣa



Acolyte of  
Avalokiteśvara  
on Mt. Potala



sar 살

ba 바

bū 보

ta 다

nam 남

(16  
句)

a 아

ye 예

yam 염

(15  
句)

sar 살

bar 발

tta 타

sa 사

da 다

nām 남

su 수

ban 반

(14  
句)

ma 마

bar 발

ta 이

i 사

sā 담

mi 미

Korean text from a hymnal

Indra



Brahmā



Avalokiteśvara



Kundalin  
bodhisattva



ji      지  
ka      가  
ran      란  
je      제

(21  
句)

om      옴  
a      아  
ro      로  
kye      계  
a      아  
ro      로  
ka      가  
ma      마  
ji      지  
ro      로  
ka      가

(19  
句)

tan      단  
nya      나  
ttā      타  
(18  
句)

ba      바  
ba      바  
mar      말  
a      아  
mi      미  
su      수  
da      다  
kam      감  
(17  
句)

Korean text from a hymnal

gandha?



bodhi-citta



Maheśvara



ha 하 𠂊

ri 리 𠂊

na 나 𠂊

ya 야 ѧ

.

(25  
句)

sa 사 𩗎

ma 마 𩗎

ra 라 𩗎

sa 사 𩗎

ma 마 𩗎

ra 라 𩗎

(24  
句)

ma 마 𩗎

ha 하 𠂊

mo 모 𩗎

ji 지 ܰ

.

sa 사 𩗎

ta 타 ܰ

ba 바 ܰ

(23  
句)

hyi 혜 𩷃

hyi 혜 𩷃

.

Ha 하 𩷃

rye 려 𩷃

.

(22  
句)



Mayūri

śūnyata-kaya  
bodhisattva

ma 마

ha 하

.

mi 미

yōn 연

je 제

.

(29  
句)

do 도

ro 로

.

do 도

ro 로

.

mi 미

yōn 연

je 제

.

(28  
句)

sa 사

.

da 다

ya 야

.

sa 사

da 다

ya 야

.

(27  
句)

ku 구

ro 로

.

ku 구

ro 로

.

kar 갈

ma 마

.

(26  
句)

Korean text from a hymnal



Lion-king

Incarnation of  
Avalokitesvara

ca 자 ㅋ

ra 라 ㅌ

ca 자 ㅋ

ra 라 ㅌ

•  
(33句)

na 나 ㄴ

rye 레 ㅌ

sai 새 ㅌ

ba 바 ㅌ

ra 라 ㅌ  
•  
(32句)

da 다 ㅌ

rin 린 ㅌ

•  
(31句)

da 다 ㅌ

ra 라 ㅌ

da 다 ㅌ

ta 타 ㅌ

•  
(30句)

Maheśvara



Maheśvara



Buddha who listens to the  
hymn of 1000-armed  
Avalokiteśvara



ro 로 𩧇

kye 계 𩧈

.

sai 새 𩧁

bā 바 𩧃

.

ra 라 𩧄

.

ra 라 𩧄

.

ya 아 𩧅

37 (句)

c 이 𩧆

hye 혜 𩧇

36 (句)

mor 몰 𩧂

je 제 𩧄

35 (句)

ma 마 𩧂

ra 라 𩧂

•

mi 미 𩧂

ma 마 𩧂

ra 라 𩧂

•

a 아 𩧂

ma 마 𩧂

ra 라 𩧂

•

34 (句)

Kali-yuga



eight guardians



Amitābha



Avalokiteśvara



ba 바

na 나

ma 마

na 나

ba 바

(43句)

ho 호

rō 로

ho 호

ro 로

· (41句)

ma 마

ra 라

ho 호

ro 로

Ha 하

rye 레

(42句)

mō 모

ha 하

ja 자

ra 라

mi 미

sa 사

mi 미

sa 사

mi 미

na 나

sa 사

ya 야

(39句)

na 나

bc 사

mi 미

nā 나

sa 사

sa 사

ya 야

na 나

sa 사

ya 야

ya 야

(38句)

미

사

미

나

사

야

나

사

야

나

사

야

Korean text from a hymnal

Avalokiteśvara



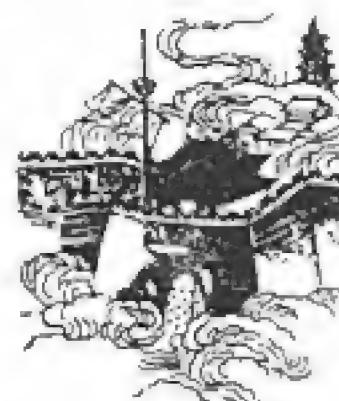
sound of falling leaves



Avalokiteśvara



Kali-yuga



mot **못**

jya **자**

mot **못**

jya **자**

•  
(47句)

so **소**

ro **로**

so **소**

ro **로**

•  
(46句)

si **시**

ri **리**

si **시**

ri **리**

•  
(45句)

sa **사**

ra **라**

sa **사**

ra **라**

•  
(44句)

Korean text from a hymnal

Dhvajāgra-keyūrā



Nāgārjuna



Ananda



ka	가	마	마	사	사	날	날	사	사	남	남
ma	마	마	마	사	사	날	날	날	날	남	남
sa	사	사	사	사	사	날	날	날	날	남	남
nar											
sa											
nam											

ni	니	라	라	간	간	타	타	(50句)
ra	라	라	라	간	간	타	타	
kan	간	간	간	간	간	타	타	
tta	타	타	타	타	타	타	타	

mai	매	다	다	리	리	야	야	(49句)
ta	다	다	다	리	리	야	야	
ri	리	리	리	리	리	야	야	
ya	야	야	야	야	야	야	야	

mo	모	다	다	야	야	·	모	다	다	야	야
da	다	다	다	야	야	·	모	다	다	야	야
ya	야	야	야	야	야	·	모	다	다	야	야
							모	다	다	야	야
							모	다	다	야	야
							(48句)				

svāhā



sa 사 바  
ba 바  
·  
ha 하  
(55句)

sid 신 다  
da  
ya 야  
(55句)

sa 사 바  
ba 바  
·  
ha 하  
(55句)

ba 바 라  
ra 라  
·  
ha 하 라  
ra 라  
·  
na 나 야  
ya 야  
·  
ma 마  
nak 나  
(52句)

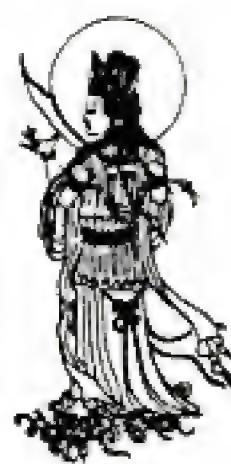
Korean text from a hymnal

Dhūpā



sai	새
ba	바
.	.
ra	라
ya	야

(59句)



sid	신
da	다
yu	유
ye	예

(58句)



sa	사
ba	바
.	.
ha	하

(57句)

Light-radiating  
Bodhisattva



ma	마
ha	하
.	.
sid	싯
da	다
ya	야

(56句)

Ratna-mudrā-rāja  
bodhisattva



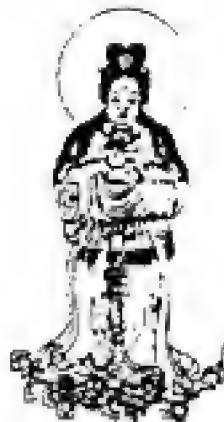
ba 바 .  
ra 라 .  
ha 하 .  
. .  
mok 목 .  
kka 카 .  
sing 싱 .  
ha 하 .  
mok 목 .  
kka 카 .  
ya 야 .  
(61句)

sa 사 .  
ba 바 .  
. .  
ha 하 .  
. .  
(62句)

ni 니 .  
ra 라 .  
. .  
kan 간 .  
tta 타 .  
ya 야 .  
(61句)

sa 사 .  
ba 바 .  
. .  
ha 하 .  
(60句)

Bhaiṣajya-samudgata  
bodhisattva



Bhaiṣajyarāja



ca 자 ㅈ

ka 가 ㅋ

ra 라 ㄹ

yok 육 ㄺ

ta 다 ㄻ

ya 야 ㅑ

.  
68句

sa 사 ㅅ

ba 바 ㅂ

.

ha 하 ㅎ

(67句)

ba 바 ㅂ

na 나 ㄴ

ma 마 ㅁ

hat 하 ㅏ

ta 따 ㅏ

(68句)

ya 야 ㅑ

.

sa 사 ㅅ

ba 바 ㅂ

.

ha 하 ㅎ

(65句)

Korean text from a hymnal

Dhūpā



ma	마	sa	사	sang	상	sa	사
ha	하	ba	바	kka	카	ba	바
ra	라	.	.	sūp	섭	.	.
ku	구	ha	하	na	나	ha	하
ita	타	(?)	(?)	nyc	네	(70句)	(69句)
da	다			mo	모		
ra	라			da	다		
ya	야			na	나		
	(3句)			ya	야	(71句)	



sa 사	마	사	가	바	사	사
ba 바	가	바	리	마	간	바
.	라	.	나	.	간	.
ha 하	.	하	.	나	타	하
(80句)	찰	(77句)	이	이	사	(74句)
마	마	나	나	나	사	
(78句)	마	나	나	나	사	
이	이	야	야	야	시	
바	바	(76句)	야	야	체	
.	.		이	이	다	
사	나		사	사	시	
나	야		나	나	체	
야	(79句)		야	야	다	

Korean text from a hymnal

Avalokiteśvara  
in meditation



Mañjuśrī  
in meditation



Samantabhadra  
in meditation



Avalokiteśvara  
in meditation



sai 새 𩏃

ba 바 𩏃

.

ra 라 𩏃

ya 야 𩏃

(83)  
句

ba 바 𩏃

.

ro 로 𩏃

ki 기 𩏃

je 제 𩏃

(82)  
句

na 나 𩏃

mak 막 𩏃

.

ar 알 𩏃

ya 야 𩏃

(81)  
句

na 나 𩏃

mo 모 𩏃

.

ra 라 𩏃

.

da 다 𩏃

na 나 𩏃

da 다 𩏃

ra 라 𩏃

.

ya 야 𩏃

ya 야 𩏃

(81)  
句

Korean text from a hymnal



## CALLIGRAPHED KOREAN TEXT

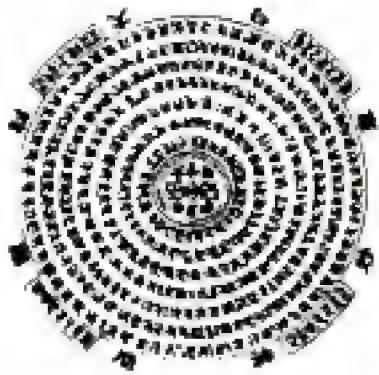
The text that follows is calligraphed in Hangul and Siddham scripts. The Siddham transcription is better than that of Amoghavajra (T 1113B). The Korean ductus of Siddham has been deeply effected by the flow of the brush. Some of the letters have a quality that betrays an origin different from the standard Japanese form, for instance *ra* in Korean is  while in Japan it is . The flow of *tra*  and *tra*  shows

the organic movement of the brush, the very breath of calligraphy. It is 'activity in stillness' and shows the vitality that stems from a single stroke. The form assumed by *a*  (as distinguished from Japanese ) shows the energy of strokes of fine

calligraphy. The Korean Siddham has been integrated into lines which are living tissue of visual life. In East Asia, calligraphy is a living image, a creeping passion, a subtle invasion of the eyes. Its sets the form afire.

The calligraphed text reproduced herein is resonant with the depths of being and as such it provides insights into the new and scintillating possibilities for creative calligraphy of Devanagari. It has nuances of form in being, vibrating to mornings to come. 'Morning, tomorrow' is *kalya* in Sanskrit, which is *kallos* 'beautiful' in Greek. Morning, radiant with the beauty of the Dawn, becomes 'beautiful'. This *kallos* is the first element in the word calligraphy, which enshrines the hidden thresholds of mornings to be and their charms. Korean calligraphy is a new voltage, a higher intensity that can become the beauty, power, wonder of a new style in Devanagari calligraphy. Hence the twenty pages that follow. In calligraphy akṣara becomes brahma. We hope they will open up a world vibrating with sensitivity.

### Calligraphed Korean text



画千手



神妙章句大陀羅尼

千手千眼廣大圓滿無碍大悲心

斗 모 라  
斗 모 라  
斗 모 라  
斗 모 라

斗斗斗斗

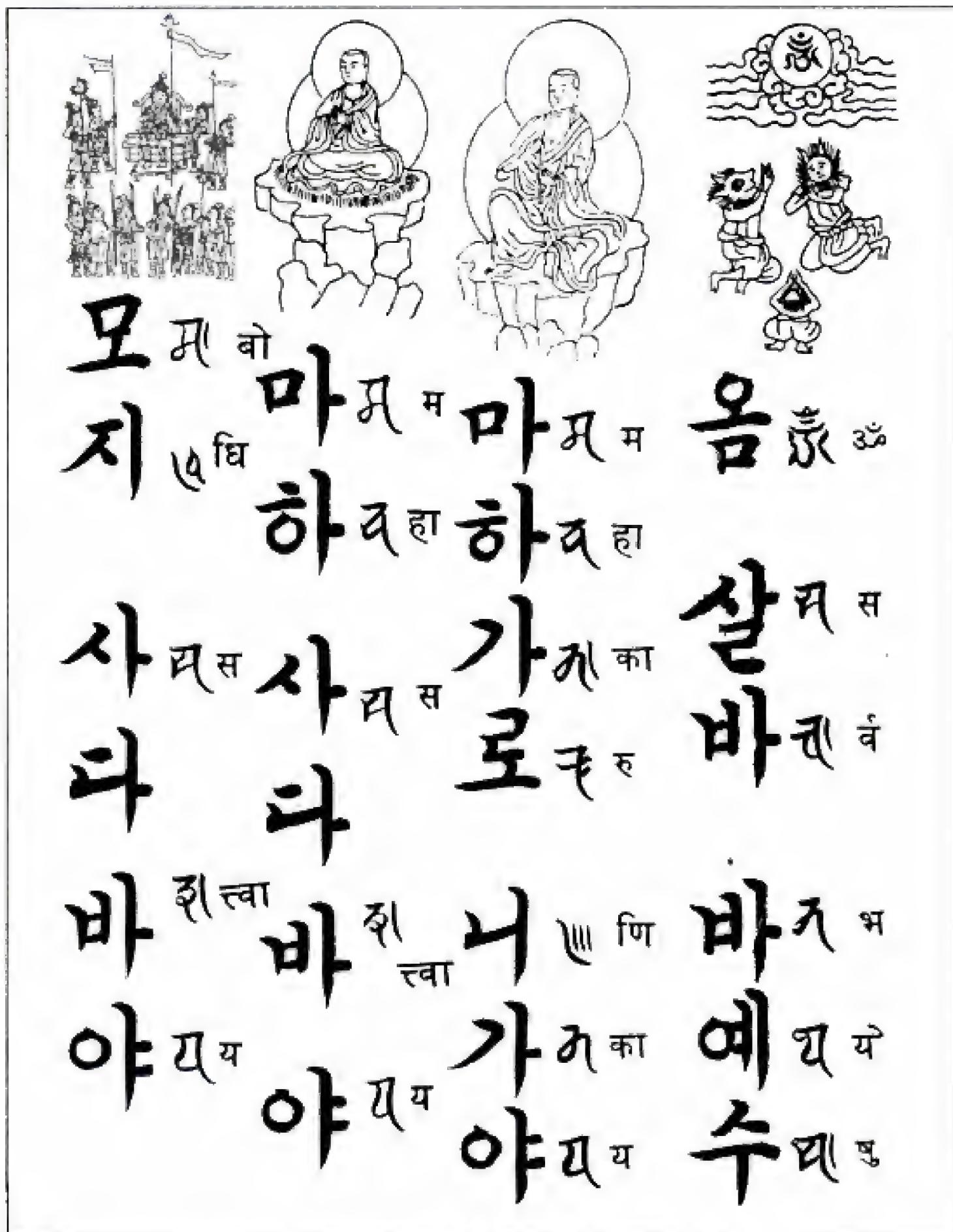
卷之二

ଯୁଧ୍ୟ

二〇

막자'म  
알조'ଆ

바	पू	व
로	रा	लो
기	कृ	कि
제	रू	ते
새	शू	श्व
바	रा	रा
라	य	य
야	य	य



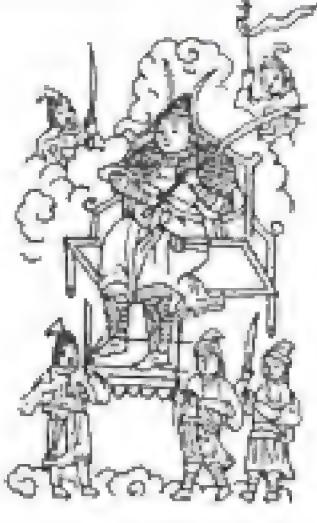
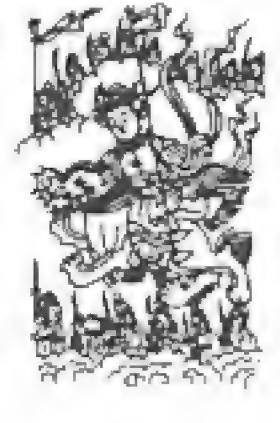


Calligraphed Korean text



Calligraphed Korean text

			
살 <small>सूर्य</small>	바 <small>वृत्ति</small> 마 <small>वृत्ति</small> 말 <small>मुमा</small> 아 <small>अंग</small>	바 <small>वृत्ति</small> 마 <small>वृत्ति</small> 나 <small>हृष्टि</small> 타 <small>एशा</small>	아 <small>ज्ञाना</small> 로 <small>रालो</small> 가 <small>अक</small>
바 <small>वृत्ति</small>	미 <small>मुखि</small> 수 <small>शो</small> 다 <small>ध</small> 감 <small>कं</small>	옴 <small>ॐ</small>	마 <small>मृम</small> 지 <small>ज्ञति</small> 로 <small>रालो</small> 계 <small>अके</small>
보 <small>क्रम</small>	나 <small>ज्ञाता</small>	아 <small>ज्ञाना</small> 로 <small>रालो</small> 계 <small>अके</small>	가 <small>ज्ञाना</small>
남 <small>ज्ञाना</small>			

			
지가라제 जगता राजे 不加 अ- ते	마하모지 महामोजि महा बो धि	사마라 समारा सम रा	하라나야 हरनाया हर या
비비하 विवह द ह र स	사나바 सनाब सन ब	사마라 समारा सम रा	구로구로 गुरुकुरु गुरु कुरु



자 <small>자</small> 라 <small>라</small>	아 <small>아</small> 마 <small>마</small>	로 <small>로</small> 계 <small>계</small>	미 <small>미</small> 사 <small>사</small>
자 <small>자</small> 라 <small>라</small>	마 <small>마</small> 라 <small>라</small>	제 <small>제</small> 바 <small>바</small>	미 <small>미</small> 미 <small>미</small>
마 <small>마</small> 라 <small>라</small>	물 <small>물</small> 제 <small>제</small>	바 <small>바</small> 라 <small>라</small>	나 <small>나</small> 나 <small>나</small>
미 <small>미</small> 미 <small>미</small>	예 <small>예</small> 라 <small>라</small>	라 <small>라</small> 아 <small>아</small>	사 <small>사</small> 야 <small>야</small>
마 <small>마</small> 라 <small>라</small>	례 <small>례</small> 허 <small>허</small>	아 <small>아</small> 야 <small>야</small>	사 <small>사</small> 야 <small>야</small>
라 <small>라</small>	희 <small>희</small>	라 <small>라</small>	야 <small>야</small>

<b>나</b>	<b>나</b>	<b>미</b>	<b>호</b>
나 베	나 사 야	미 사 미	호 로 호 로
나 사	모 하 자	나 사 야	마 라 호
나 미	모 하 자	나 사 야	마 라 호

Transliteration and meaning:

- 나**: 나 (나) 비 (비)
- 나 베**: 나 (나) 베 (베)
- 나 사**: 나 (나) 사 (사)
- 나 미**: 나 (나) 미 (미)
- 나 사 야**: 나 (나) 사 (사) 야 (야)
- 나 모 하 자**: 나 (나) 모 (모) 하 (하) 자 (자)
- 나 모**: 나 (나) 모 (모)
- 나 하**: 나 (나) 하 (하)
- 나 자**: 나 (나) 자 (자)
- 미 사**: 미 (미) 사 (사)
- 미 미**: 미 (미) 미 (미)
- 미 사 미**: 미 (미) 사 (사) 미 (미)
- 미 모 하 자**: 미 (미) 모 (모) 하 (하) 자 (자)
- 미 모**: 미 (미) 모 (모)
- 미 하**: 미 (미) 하 (하)
- 미 자**: 미 (미) 자 (자)
- 호로**: 호 (호) 로 (로)
- 호로 호로**: 호 (호) 로 (로) 호 (호) 로 (로)
- 마라**: 마 (마) 라 (라)
- 마라 호**: 마 (마) 라 (라) 호 (호)
- 마라 호로**: 마 (마) 라 (라) 호 (호) 로 (로)



			
매 <small>मू मै</small>	가 <small>गु का</small>	바 <small>बु</small>	마 <small>मू म</small>
나 <small>उ वि</small>	마 <small>मू म</small>	라 <small>ल</small>	나 <small>नै न</small>
리 <small>य य</small>	사 <small>शु स्य</small>	하 <small>हु</small>	सा <small>शु स्वा</small>
야 <small>य य</small>	날 <small>नू द</small>	리 <small>ल</small>	하 <small>हु हा</small>
니 <small>उ नी</small>	사 <small>शु र्ण</small>	나 <small>नू द</small>	신 <small>शु सि</small>
라 <small>र ल</small>	남 <small>नौ नं</small>	야 <small>य य</small>	나 <small>नू छा</small>
간 <small>गु क</small>			야 <small>य य</small>
타 <small>तु ष्ठ</small>			



사 स्वा 사 स्वा

바

하 हा 하 हा

마

하 हा 신 सि

신

나 ना 윤 यू

야 या 예 ये

나 नो

라

간

타 ठा

야 य

사 स्वा

바

하 हा

Calligraphed Korean text









The image contains four traditional Korean illustrations of deities or figures, each enclosed in a circular halo, arranged in a horizontal row above the calligraphed text.

Calligraphed Korean text:

이 <small>이</small> <small>이</small> <small>이</small>	나 <small>나</small> <small>나</small> <small>나</small>	야 <small>야</small> <small>야</small> <small>야</small>	바 <small>바</small> <small>바</small> <small>바</small>
바 <small>바</small> <small>바</small> <small>바</small>	모 <small>모</small> <small>모</small> <small>모</small>	야 <small>야</small> <small>야</small> <small>야</small>	
사 <small>사</small> <small>사</small> <small>사</small>	라 <small>라</small> <small>라</small> <small>라</small>		
나 <small>나</small> <small>나</small> <small>나</small>		나 <small>나</small> <small>나</small> <small>나</small>	로 <small>로</small> <small>로</small> <small>로</small>
야 <small>야</small> <small>야</small> <small>야</small>	다 <small>다</small> <small>다</small> <small>다</small>	막 <small>막</small> <small>막</small> <small>막</small>	
사 <small>사</small> <small>사</small> <small>사</small>	나 <small>나</small> <small>나</small> <small>나</small>	알 <small>알</small> <small>알</small> <small>알</small>	기 <small>기</small> <small>기</small> <small>기</small>
바 <small>바</small> <small>바</small> <small>바</small>	다 <small>다</small> <small>다</small> <small>다</small>	야 <small>야</small> <small>야</small> <small>야</small>	
하 <small>하</small> <small>하</small> <small>하</small>	라 <small>라</small> <small>라</small> <small>라</small>	야 <small>야</small> <small>야</small> <small>야</small>	제 <small>제</small> <small>제</small> <small>제</small>



南無千手菩薩摩訶薩  
南無大勢至菩薩摩訶薩  
南無觀世音菩薩摩訶薩  
南無巴斗亞  
南無巴斗  
南無巴斗

南無千手菩薩摩訶薩

南無大勢至菩薩摩訶薩

南無觀世音菩薩摩訶薩

南無巴斗亞  
南無巴斗  
南無巴斗

南無巴斗  
南無巴斗

南無巴斗  
南無巴斗

Siva.

In the present dhāraṇī we find that Nilakantha has the faces of Varṣha and of [Nara-] simha: "The triple god Hari-Hara-Pitamaha, who is the same as Dattatreya, Narasimha, Vāmana and Vatīha may well be worshipped by all, and they bestow their blessings on all alike" (Rao 1914:1.238).

The epithets and insignia of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva) have been interwoven inextricably. They occur here, there and everywhere as the rapture of the devotee takes him to Hari or to Hara. The ecstasy of bliss creates a shredded mosaic of meta-logical structures. The dhāraṇī is an ardent invocation of the devotee to the syncretic Avalokita to descend into his heart quickly: both the aspects of Hara and Hari are entreated to emanate:

*hulu-hulu malla* 'quick-quick Malla(= Hara)'.

*hulu Hare Mahā-Padmanābha*: 'quick, oh Hari the Great Padmanābha' (*Hare* is the vocative of Hari. Padmanābha is a synonym of Hari/ Viṣṇu).

*sara2 siri2 suru2 muru2*: come2 come2 come2 come2.

The last three words are an intentional vocalic variation for thaumaturgic effect, to impel the Deity to descend. *Muru2* is a jingling duplication of *suru2* for a charismatic finale in an unknowable assonance. Later Vedic texts say: *parokṣapriyāḥ devāḥ* 'the gods love the cryptic'. So from *sara2* to *muru2* is the cryptic element to implore Avalokiteśvara to be pleased to descend to bless; and to shower His grace, His mystique to transform the deep within the human self.

Three more characteristics of the Avalokiteśvara stand out in the hymn: omnipotence, light and transcendence. As the Thousand (*sahasra*)-armed Avalokiteśvara he is the incarnation of *sahas* 'strength, power, force, victory' (MW). Hence the epithets *vīrya-bodhi-sattva*, *bala-bala mahābala malla-malla mahāmalla*. It ensures that the reading is *malla* and not *mala* as may be inferred from the Chinese rendering in the Vulgate Version. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara belongs to the vaipulya tradition wherein centrality of light distinguished it from śrāvakayāna (Lokesh Chandra 1982:10). As such He is *Āloka-e Āloka-mati*. The epithet *lokātikrānta* denotes that He is Transcendent and belongs to the tradition of the Lokottaravādins. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara is depicted in the Garbhadhātu mandala of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, which has been assigned to the sixth? century. He is one of the three large-size figures in this mandala: Mahāvairocana, Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara and One-hundred-eight-armed Vajradhara. The three run parallel to the Śākyamuni and Amitābha triads:

Śākyamuni	Indra	Brahmā
Amitābha	Mahāsthāmaprāpta	Avalokiteśvara
Mahāvairocana	108armed Vajradhara	1000armed Avalokiteśvara

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